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Performing Remembrances of 9/11

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The University of Edinburgh

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Declaration

This is to declare that the work contained within has been composed by me and is entirely my own work. No part of this thesis has been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

Martina Karels

Edinburgh, 30 June 2017

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ABSTRACT

The attacks of 11 September 2001 have had a profound impact for many, altering lives, perceptions, politics and policies. The last decade saw the construction of numerous memorials commemorating the events across the United States. Most prominent is the National 9/11 Memorial in New York City at Ground Zero. Highly contested in its planning and building stages, the memorial site was designed to be a national symbol of mourning, remembrance and resiliency, and has since become one of the city's most popular tourist attractions.

This thesis casts the matter of memorialising 9/11 as a performance of remembering. It utilises an analytical frame that draws from theoretical resources of collective memory and performance studies to examine how and by whom public remembrances of the event are framed, performed and maintained. Theories of social remembering render it an active process. A performance lens used analytically allows for a recognition of commemorative practices not as a mode of representation, but rather as a doing, (en)acting and interacting in the moment. By understanding public remembrance as performance, this thesis explores the implications of thinking about public memory in those terms.

Through ethnographic methods the research unpacks the doing of public memory in three scenarios, each with their own setting and cast of characters, and interprets how, if and when individuals subscribe to the public and/or official memory of the events being memorialised. The first is set at the 9/11 memorial. Although the performances at the memorial site occur in an institutionalised, scripted and choreographed environment, the bodily (en)acting of and at the site can shift complex boundaries and commemorative narratives. The second provides the example of commemorative walking/ running events as performed remembering. These public processions are ritual-like (re)enactments that solidify and reaffirm the politicised national commemorative master narrative of 9/11. Lastly, the annual ritual of commemoration on the anniversary of 9/11 highlights and intensifies the separation of official and vernacular public memory and shows how in both settings organisers and actors utilise embodied performance strategies to gain or regain visibility in the public sphere.

LAY SUMMARY

The attacks of 11 September 2001 have had a profound impact for many, altering lives, perceptions, politics and policies. The last decade saw the construction of numerous memorials commemorating the events across the United States. Most prominent is the National 9/11 Memorial in New York City at Ground Zero. Highly contested in its planning and building stages, the memorial site was designed to be a national symbol of mourning, remembrance and resiliency, and has since become one of the city's most popular tourist attractions.

This thesis views the memorialising of 9/11 as a performance of remembering. It draws from theoretical resources of collective memory and performance studies to examine how and by whom public remembrances of the event are framed, performed and maintained. Theories of social remembering render it an active process. Applying a performance lens allows for a recognition of commemorative practices not as representation, but rather as a doing, (en)acting and interacting in the moment. By understanding public remembrance as performance, this thesis explores the implications of thinking about public memory in those terms.

Through ethnographic methods the research unpacks the doing of public memory in three scenarios, each with their own setting and cast of characters, and interprets how, if and when individuals subscribe to the public and/or official memory of the events being memorialised. The first is set at the 9/11 memorial. Although the performances at the memorial site occur in an institutionalised, scripted and choreographed environment, the bodily (en)acting of and at the site can shift boundaries and commemorative narratives. The second provides the example of commemorative walking/running events as performed remembering. These public processions are ritual-like (re)enactments that solidify and reaffirm the politicised national master narrative of 9/11. Lastly, the annual ritual of commemoration on the anniversary of 9/11 highlights the separation of official and vernacular public memory and shows how in both settings organisers and actors use embodied performance strategies to gain or regain visibility in the public sphere.

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And finally Ryan, my rock. What a ride it’s been. Thank you for having me, always. I could not have done this without you, or Finnegan and Florrie. For all time.

Prologue

I am entering the visitor line, the liminal space between the outside world out there and the memorial. The queue barriers are creating a path crowded with a long snake of visitors. Above, the open sky, the Freedom Tower and other high-rises under construction. The repetitive hammering of on-going work, the chopping thuds of helicopter blades, car engines, honking on the streets, and people's voices are constant auditory companions. You walk, a few steps at a time, then wait. Like sheep or cattle, paddocked in by a high black metal fence to one side, and a wall of blue tarp on the other, you are herded along the maze. You wait. The space seems to get tighter. You listen. Fellow visitors get disgruntled and impatient. You walk. Three openings appear in the belted barriers, leading you past three donation boxes and through the white gazebo tent. Signs inform you about suggested donations: give \$10 and get an official memorial bracelet. Next to the boxes three staff members, uniformly dressed in blue shirts and khaki trousers. They are happy if you donate and not unfriendly if you don't. A sign informs you of the security check ahead. You can keep your shoes on.

You walk, you wait. People ahead are moving, disappearing around a bend of a corner into a narrow canyon of scaffolding and blue tarp. You show your pass. A security guard waves you through, across the street, past the World Centre Hotel and into a tunnel of concrete, blind windows, metal and tarp. Fellow visitors' excitement rises, each slow step is one step closer to the memorial. The tunnel's exit is visible straight ahead, the grunts of disappointment palpable when the herd is ushered left instead, into a building filled with beeping metal detectors and machines scanning your possessions. Place jackets, keys, cameras and phones into the provided baskets and move along. Do not take pictures! Get dressed and move along. You exit the security screening just ahead of where you entered, back into the narrow canyon, now you can move freely in the prescribed line. You walk, faster now, eager for the open space ahead. Turn left on West Street, walk along the prescribed walkway,

along the tarp-covered chain-link fence. A few more steps, show your pass once more and enter.

The memorial plaza opens like a crooked mouth. Fellow visitors greet it with Ah's and Oh's and "Wow, this is big!" It is a large space. To the left a group of police officers, huddled together and in deep conversations. You walk straight along a road of paved brick. The chain-link fence, no longer covered in blue tarp, sits to the right. Behind it construction. Dominating the view still is 1 World Trade Center rising up into the sky to the left. Heads must be tilted back all the way to see the soon-to-be tallest building in the United States. Tilt head down. Long, narrow rectangles of mulch lay arranged in orderly formation - don't step here! Aligned perfectly straight, from west to east and towards the first memorial pool. Young trees are taking root in the mulchy soil. The rectangular symmetry is broken (or enforced?) by patches of grass of the same shape. There it is, close now, just ahead, the memorial. Its parapets meet at a bevelled corner. The memorial's edge, however, is sharp. You walk, past two makeshift shelves holding memorial guides in all sorts of different languages - take one. Walk past a security guard, along the chain-link fence. Fellow visitors rush there in earnest eagerness, stopping, gathering, click-clicks of cameras, clustering at the memorial's south west corner. You avoid the crowd by walking a little further down the south side of the square.

There it is. The first glimpse of the memorial pools goes beyond seeing. You experience it with all five senses: eyes, ears, nose, mouth, skin, all taking in the waterfalls at once. Your gaze attempts to grasp the sheer size of the site as thunderous waterfalls ring through the air as a cocktail of water vapour with a hint of moss enters your nostrils and mouth as you tacitly explore the different textures of the structure. Bronze coloured parapets appear to hover above the broad edges of the waterfall. Tilted upwards the large metal plates are inscribed with the names of dead, framing the memorial pool and creating a reading lectern of sorts. Beneath the raised sheets of names, water gathers in a shallow pond, like a miniature infinity

pool one finds in luxurious holiday resorts. Holding on to the metal you look down and across the giant waterfalls dropping far into a giant square-shaped basin, pooling below, resting a short while before dropping again and then disappearing into a bottomless smaller square shaped hole. The waters roar loudly as they crash down, a pleasant loud. Muffled are the hammering and thudding of construction work and helicopters, car engines and traffic noises are hushed completely but for howling sirens of ambulances, police and fire trucks occasionally rushing by somewhere out there beyond the chain-link fence. Tiny droplets of water mist your face when blowing winds lift up the wet, making it dance. You lick your lips and taste the memorial.

The brass underneath your hands is warm to the touch, even in cold weather. You feel the etched out names, caressing them gently and tracing your fingers along the holes cut out of the metal in remembrance of persons no longer alive. In the evenings the memorial is lit. Lights shine through the names from a source beneath, illuminating each name as you come close, dimming and disappearing as you walk away. A constant flux of presence/ absence, presence/ absence. On some days families make rubbings of a name, swishing charcoal pencils in quick movements over white paper laid atop their loved ones names as they do at the Vietnam memorial and many other sites commemorating memory.

You walk around the south pool, southern side first, past a police officer. So many names. You read some of them but quickly forget them. Some have flowers stuck through them. White roses mostly, but sometimes daisies or sunflowers or little American flags. Click, click. Fellow visitors take photos of the tokens and themselves – don't lean on the memorial! – click, click. You walk, the memorial on the left, the fence to the right. Behind it new constructions rising in the air, shiny facades reflecting their surroundings, reflecting their reflections. Reflecting Absence is the name of the memorial. The pools carved out as squared holes in the ground. Two squares in a plaza of rectangles. Two square holes where two towers once stood.

Ahead the museum pavilion, flat-roofed and silver-grey with windows like mirrors. More reflections. The building lies there, long, like a ship or toppled stature. It is the one finished structure of the unfinished museum far beneath the memorial plaza. There are information machines to look up the locations of specific names. Nobody uses the machines. At the pool's northwest corner you have a choice: turn right or turn left. I choose left, past the pavilion and against the grain of the rows of trees and grass, towards the north pool. Fellow visitors press their faces against the museum windows on the left. You peek in too, your hands shielding away the light and with it your own reflection in the mirroring glass. Visible inside only one item: steel beams shaped like tridents, remaining remnants of the Twin Towers' facade.

You reach the southeast corner of the north pool. There are less people here, barely any at its northern and western sides. The pathways are narrower, chain-link fence on the eastern side, scaffolding and the looming shadow of 1 WTC to the north. It is much more windy here, less buildings to shield the gusts rushing into Manhattan's canyons from the wide Hudson River and the sea. More water mist to taste. Temporal signs warn you of the windspray. Only one lonely security guard. More names. So many names. Still I cannot recall them. You walk around the northern memorial but linger longer, enjoying the lack of fellow visitors who are neglecting the names up north.

Two buildings to the right melting in with the barrier fence - staff and personnel only! More information machines. Nobody uses the machines. Stone benches are scattered carefully around the plaza and between the pools. You sit and take in the environment. The North Tower's memorial pool in front, upwards the Freedom Tower and other high rises encroaching on the open sky above, but really they crouch in comparison. Fellow visitors take photos and plan what to do next. Volunteer staff in identifying vests and tablets in hand tell stories and information to those who want it. You get up, stretch, relishing it, as your body remembers that you have walked and waited and waited and walked. Turning and navigating around the

mulchy and grassy rectangles that mustn't be stepped upon, you walk back towards the south pool. You pass a tree. It is a different genus of tree than the others and more mature. There is a slim metal fence protecting its bed and trunk and a security guard is stationed next to it. Its branches are held up by wired robes and metal hooks. The Survivor Tree, named so because it is the sole surviving green of the old World Trade Centre. Mangled and traumatised by debris and destruction, the tree was nursed back to life and now lives back where it came from. On its bark the 'before' and 'after' are clearly distinguishable: charred and knobby versus quenched and smooth. Some days it is adorned with commemorative wreaths.

You exit where you entered, at the crooked mouth at West Street, past a group of police officers huddled together and in deep conversations. No need to show your pass anymore. You exist parallel to those who enter, two snakes of people moving in opposite directions. A donation box, then a concrete road block and a police officer and you are out, spat out right in front of the gift shop. You are tired but go in anyway. 9/11 Memorial t-shirts, 9/11 Memorial umbrellas, 9/11 Memorial mugs, key chains, ponchos, bags, commemorative plates, fridge magnets, stuffed animal service dogs, books, pencils, pictures, figurines, commemorative ... stuff ... so much stuff You exit, exhausted, away from the shop window displaying a special design commemorative Harley Davidson. You turn left on Albany and walk further into Manhattan, past the black metal fence holding in and ushering along the herds of visitors eager to see the memorial. The repetitive hammering of on-going construction work, the chopping thuds of helicopter blades, car engines, and honking on the streets reminds you bluntly that you are back somewhere out there beyond the chain-link fence.



Figure 1. The 9/11 Memorial – walking the memorial



Figure 2. Entrance to the memorial and crowd control



Figure 3. Donation tent



Figure 4. Post-donation tent and towards the canyon of scaffolding



Figure 5. The blue tarped fence



Figure 6. Inside the canyon and towards security check



Figure 7. Rules and Regulations



Figure 8. 1 WTC aka the Freedom Tower



Figure 9. Symmetry



Figure 10. Inside the memorial plaza and towards the corner of the South Pool



Figure 11. Cluster-point at the south-west corner of the South Pool



Figure 12. The waterfalls of the 9/11 memorial



Figure 13. The memorial at night



Figure 14. Water basin underneath the name parapets



Figure 15. Family members making a rubbing of a name



Figure 16. Flowers left at the memorial

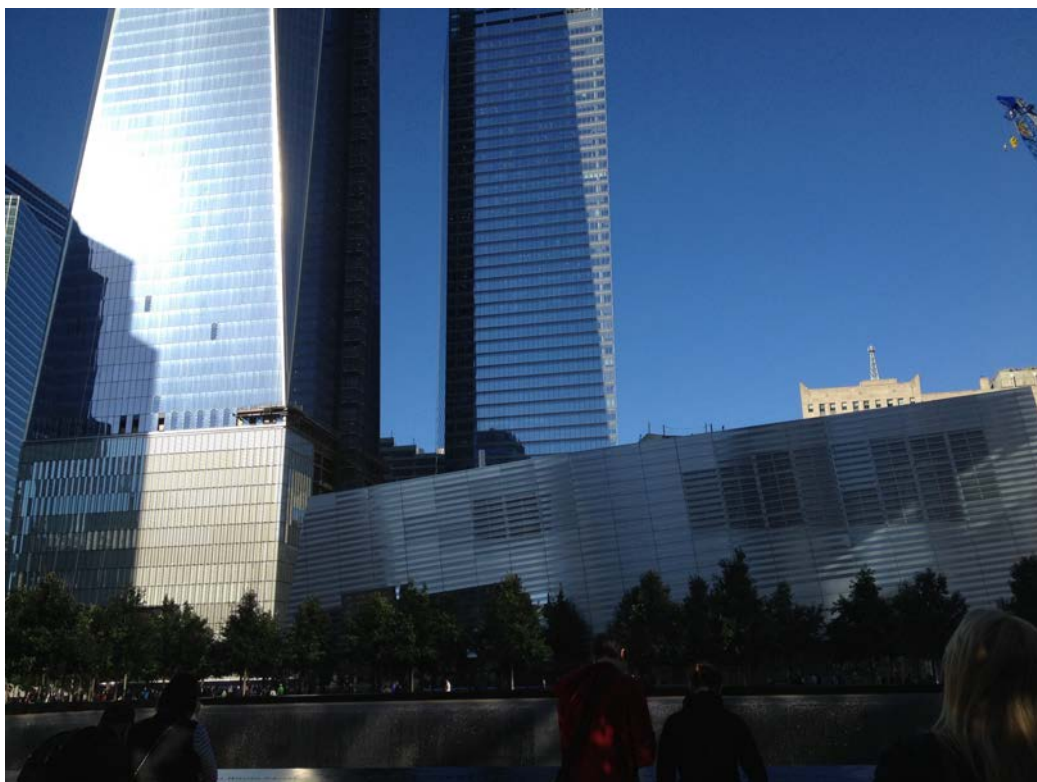


Figure 17. The museum pavilion



Figure 18. Construction near the North Pool

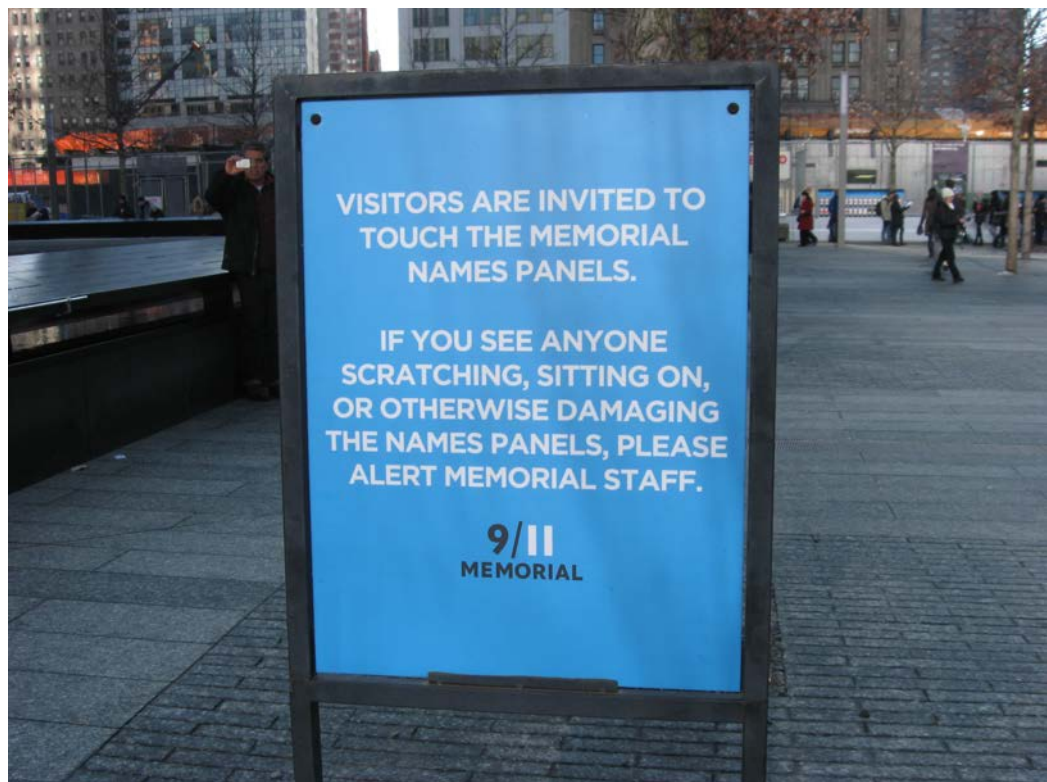


Figure 19. Information sign at the memorial plaza



Figure 20. The Survivor Tree in autumn

Chapter 1. Remembering 9/11

It was a gorgeous, beautiful day. I mean it was the most beautiful day that we had. Sun was shining, the skies were blue and then in one second, it was a tragedy. And everything else changed. (Henry, 13 August 2013)

The sky. It was a perfect sky, crystal clear, not a cloud in sight. Many stories about 9/11 begin by describing the blueness of the sky. The New York Magazine's Encyclopaedia of 9/11 even has an entry dedicated to it, titled Blue. The perfect blue sky is one of the things people remember about that day.

11 September 2001 was a Tuesday. I was enrolled in an immersion language programme at that time, at a school in Midtown Manhattan. Living across the Hudson River in New Jersey I started my days early, around 6.30am, to ensure a punctual arrival at my 9am course. On that Tuesday I did not want to go into Manhattan. The feeling of reluctance was intense, much more than a sleepy defiance against a pestering alarm clock, but rather a tenacious aversion. I did eventually get up, then went back to bed, then was awakened by a friend's phone call telling me to come to the promenade, a plane had crashed into the World Trade Centre and a tower was on fire – or something along those lines. I have little recollection of what happened afterwards. I know I went to the promenade, I must have seen the Twin Towers fall, but I do not remember. Only one flashbulb memory of that day persists in my mind: the image of a sole tower standing, embraced by a crystal blue sky. I do not remember feelings of confusion, worry, or sadness I know I must have felt, or should have felt, nor the sounds or smells, nor the grey cloud of debris dust tainting the perfect blue sky, nor do I remember the conversation with

my mother when she finally got through the jammed phone lines. All that remains is that one image.

In the hours, days and weeks after that Tuesday, the details about what happened became known. That morning 19 al Qaeda terrorists had boarded and hijacked four commercial airplanes, American Airlines Flights 11 and 77, and United Airlines Flights 175 and 93, with the intent of diverting and crashing them into civic and military US American establishments.¹ Flight AA 11 was the first to hit its target, crashing into the upper floors of the north tower of New York's World Trade Centre at 8.46am. The second plane, UA 175, followed shortly thereafter, smashing into the south tower at 9.03am, making it evident that the earlier occurrence was no accident, but indeed a deliberate act. When flight AA 77 was flown into the Pentagon at 9.37am, the reality of the events was undeniable: this was an act of terrorism, a suicide attack on the United States executed on US soil. It is assumed it was this knowledge that ignited the passengers of flight UA 93 to resist the hijacking, resulting in the plane's crashing into an empty field near Shanksville, Pennsylvania at 10.03am rather than a presumed urban target in Washington D.C. All persons on board the four planes died, and numerous casualties were expected at the Pentagon and the World Trade Centre. But it was not until the fall of the Twin Towers (the south tower collapsed at 9.59am and the north tower at 10.28am) that the realisation set in that the death toll would be substantial. In the end, nearly 3,000 people died on that Tuesday.

¹ Flight AA 11 departed Boston for Los Angeles at 7.59am with 76 passengers, 11 crew members, and 5 hijackers on board. Flight UA 175 was on the same flight route, taking off from Boston at 8.14am; on board were 49 passengers, 11 crew members and 5 hijackers. Flight AA 77 was also destined for Los Angeles. Departing from Washington D.C. at 8.20am the plane had 53 passengers, 6 crew members and 5 hijackers on board. The final flight UA 93, departing Newark at 8.42am and headed for San Francisco, had 33 passengers, 7 crew members and 4 hijackers on board. The 9/11 Commission Report provides a thorough, yet still questioned, account of how these events transpired. As well, the 9/11 Memorial and Museum website provides a detailed interactive timeline, available at <http://timeline.911memorial.org/#FrontPage> (Accessed: 23 May 2017).

The 'official' death toll represents a lot more than the count of the dead. The number itself changes. It is surprisingly difficult to find a consistent figure. For example, the LMDC World Trade Centre Memorial Design Competition Guidelines (2003: 2) states the number of deaths as 3,016. A Place of Remembrance (2011), the "official book of the National September 11 Memorial," is dedicated to the 2,982 killed in the attacks, whereas the memorial foundation's commemorative guide speaks of 2,983 victims. My count of the names etched into the memorial came to the number 2,995. Deeper digging into these discrepancies revealed that the memorial does include the names of some casualties, though certainly not all, who have died more recently from injuries sustained on 9/11. The number carries with it a narrative that is open for debate, most recently concerning the plight of first responders and others suffering from illness linked to the toxic conditions at the site. Then there are those who survived, who made it out alive, some burnt and scarred, and many more physically unscathed but traumatised and hurting invisibly. Their stories are not generally part of the lasting, collective memory of the day.

Many, perhaps most people in the US, felt deeply distressed by 9/11 even though they had not lost a loved one, their home or livelihood. There was an outpouring of empathy for grieving family members, of course, but there seemed to be feelings of a different kind as well. After 9/11, people in New York were on guard, jittery even. There was fear of another attack, fear of anthrax, fear of Islam. I remember one incident, it must have been a few weeks after the 9/11 event. While waiting for the subway train at 42nd Street one morning during rush hour, some kind of valve or pipe burst above the platform. There was a loud 'pop', then steam came whistling forcefully out of the broken pipe. Within seconds the platform had emptied, smartly dressed New Yorkers scattering away, briefcases swinging and coffees spilling. I just stood there. I do not know why I did not dash away with the others. Had this have been another attack I may not have made it. Perhaps I was less fearful, or maybe less traumatised, or differently, by what happened.

New Yorkers, American citizenry more generally, and global witnesses tried to come to terms with the shock of the events. From a national perspective, this was an unprecedented tragedy that shook the country at its core. With the loss of life came a loss of invincibility. The country's borders had been considered secure, aided by geographical configuration. Acts of war and terror happened elsewhere; the security of Americans at home from foreign invasion was never questioned. The terror attacks of 11 September presented a rupture that shattered that feeling of security and wounded the self-ascribed myth of exceptionalism so woven into the fabric of the American way of life. At the same time, a shared sense of unity, solidarity and national pride was (re)ignited. National sentiments were displayed and memorial services were conducted in ceremonial red, white and blue. Having grown up in Germany, where national patriotism is somewhat of a taboo,² this seemed alien to me, but I understood that the collection of little flags stuck into my neighbours' flowerbeds mattered much to them as a public expression of what they were feeling.

The event became an unavoidable talking point. There were constant "where were you on 9/11?" moments, persistently dominating conversations. They revealed an abundance of stories echoing my own, tales of people who were supposed to be there but had missed the bus, got a toothache, or had to attend their daughter's school function. Politicians proclaimed loudly the need for national solidarity, wrapped tightly with national sentiments and promised retribution. Flags were hoisted from every window, and a fervent police officer sang "God Bless America" at every memorial function, sporting event, and talk show imaginable.³ Candlelight vigils and spontaneous

² I left Germany in 2000. It is possible that young people growing up there now experience 'Germanness' differently. Growing up, the only blatant display of national pride was for international sports competitions, especially football.

³ Due to his extensive public post-9/11 appearances, New York City police officer and departmental National Anthem singer Daniel Rodríguez became widely known as the 'The Singing Policeman'.

memorials sprung up instantaneously.⁴ Then, as time went on, these became less and less frequent.

Initially the funerals of victims were held simultaneously with the recovery efforts at Ground Zero, where rescue workers continued their often futile search for survivors, then bodies, then some remnant of human remains. Then they gave up searching altogether and the City started (re)building. The ash cloud that had hovered over lower Manhattan for weeks eventually blew north, no longer obscuring the void left in New York City's iconic skyline. There was endless news media coverage, endless discussions in cafés and bars, endless questions from friends and family abroad, endless circulation of images of planes and burning buildings, planes and burning buildings, endless repetition. The picture of 'my' lone tower was invested with these images, filling the gaps of my own patchy recollections. And life went on and a new routine set in.

Remembering and memorializing the dead is social process (Durkheim 2008 [1915]). When loss occurs as a collective event, a place of public mourning is often desired “to fix memory in a visible form” (Holt-Warhaft, 2000: 158) by those invested in and affected by the loss in some capacity, for instance family members, a community or the state. Artefacts recovered in the rubble of the World Trade Centre, such as the *World Trade Centre Cross* (a structural t-beam of the Twin Towers resembling a Christian cross found in the debris that was used as a religious shrine during the clean-up phase), or the re-assembled *Sphere* (a sculpture that used to sit in the plaza between the two towers), were quickly assigned this function by different interest groups and mourners who attributed them with civic and religious symbolic meaning, as well as historical significance.⁵

⁴ For interesting discussions of such grassroots memorials in New York City see for example Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2003) or Fraenkel (2011).

⁵ Interestingly, the stories of these two particular artefacts are vastly different. For over 30 years *The Sphere* stood as the centrepiece in the World Trade Centre's entry plaza. After the terror attacks of 11

The most powerful material site of public memory, however, was Ground Zero itself. The site of thousands of deaths was quickly marked as ‘sacred ground,’ a designated place for the ‘shared’ significance of a national experience and ‘shared’ acts of remembering, orchestrated by official (and financial) keepers of the site. The terror attacks altered politics and policies worldwide, as aviation security measures changed and military campaigns were approved and deployed. In New York City the changes were visible every day in the transformed skyline. The skyline became a target, this time to act as a symbol of resilience. On the day of the event, then-mayor Rudolph Giuliani defiantly proclaimed that ‘we will rebuild’ and that ‘the skyline will be made whole again’ (Taylor 2001). Almost immediately after the attacks, the future of the site was debated publically. Whereas the nation was represented as united in their defiance against the looming terrorist threat posed by the ‘axis of evil’,⁶ deep division and fierce contestations defined the talks held about the future of the disaster zone. Should Ground Zero be rebuilt and if so, how? Should the Twin Towers be replicated? Should the empty space where the towers once stood – their footprint – remain empty, an open scar on the urban landscape, a symbolic reminder of the tragic losses? The questions immediately made evident the lack of a singular authority over the project⁷ – even the mayor would be out of office a year later.⁸ The heated arguments that ensued between victims’ family members, property

September, the bronze globe was recovered from the rubble, bent, dented and dull but largely unscathed, becoming a symbol of survival and resilience – words closely associated with the US-American commemorative narrative of 9/11. Showing the scars of the event, the Sphere remains the last intact structure of the World Trade Centre and for a while was supposed to serve as an interim memorial. Despite official acknowledgement of the historical significance of the artefact, the actual sculpture has largely been forgotten, ‘temporally’ placed in Battery Park for the past 13 years, far removed from Ground Zero and the 9/11 Memorial and Museum. Indeed, for years the memorial foundation refused to install the “authentic object” at the site. They did however display a model and information of the Sphere’s history. In July 2016 it was announced that the sculpture would return to the vicinity of the WTC site after all, near the yet to be completed St. Nicholas National Shrine overlooking the memorial plaza (Dunlap 2016). The World Trade Centre Cross on the other hand has found a permanent home in the museum. After much controversy, including a lawsuit in federal court, the religious symbol will remain as a permanent exhibit in the museum as it represents an “authentic physical reminder that tell[s] the history of 9/11 in a way nothing else could” (Frazier 2013).

⁶ The turn of phrase in regards to 9/11 was first used by President George W. Bush in his State of the Union Address on 29 January 2002 and quickly entered political and popular discourse. Specifically, the ‘axis of evil’ was comprised of North Korea, Iran, Iraq and their terrorist allies.

⁷ Goldberger (2004), Sturken (2007), Greenspan (2013) and Sagalyn (2016) provide a detailed chronology of the political ping pong that defined the rebuilding processes and identify the different parties involved in this ‘Battle for Ground Zero’ (Greenspan 2013).

⁸ In January of 2002 major Giuliani was succeeded by Michael Bloomberg who held office until 2013. Bloomberg still serves as chairman of the 9/11 Memorial and Museum.

developers, the City, the lower Manhattan community, and the Port Authority, to name a few, were entangled in political and economic interests, as well as abstract and emotional ones. The claims for authority and recognition by different groups proved difficult to weigh. How does society prioritise the wants of a city with fiscal responsibility, property owners, the leaseholders, the citizens who live there as well as those who died in that place? At the same time, this trauma was one of national proportions, and its subjects were used and abused as global political rhetoric.

In autumn 2001, the Lower Manhattan Development Corporation (LMDC) was established, charged with

ensuring Lower Manhattan recovers from the attacks and emerges even better than it was before. The centrepiece of LMDC's effort is the creation of a permanent memorial honouring those lost, while affirming the democratic values that came under attack on September 11.⁹

The corporation would serve as the official body overseeing the planning and rebuilding efforts at Ground Zero and surrounding areas. Promising public and victims' family members' involvement, the cooperation held numerous public community meetings, installed online message boards and formed advisory boards comprised of the various stakeholders. In a series of town hall meetings in July 2002, several concept proposals for the redevelopment of the disaster zone were presented to the public, all of which were outright rejected by those in attendance. Shifting approach, in August of the same year, the LMDC launched its first international competition dedicated to the transformation of the 16 acres of Ground Zero. Architect Daniel Libeskind, designer of the Jewish Museum in Berlin, was chosen as winner in February 2003, though none of the actual buildings are designed by him. His design of the 'master plan' featured several commercial high-rise buildings, including the symbolically 1,776-foot tall *Freedom Tower* (now officially named *One World Trade Centre* or 1 WTC, although the original label is commonly used by

⁹ LMDC website. Available at: <http://www.renewnyc.com/overlay/AboutUs/> (Accessed: 26 August 2015).

New Yorkers and visitors), a transportation hub, and a cultural centre aligned around a memorial in the footprints of the Twin Towers. The plan dedicated nearly half the space to the memorial site. What the ‘sacred space’ was supposed to look like was unknown, and the meetings and discussions held at public forums and behind closed doors were intense and emotionally charged, a state that has continuously defined the memorialisation of 9/11 in New York.¹⁰ In April 2003, the LMDC launched the *World Trade Centre Site Memorial Competition*. Submissions were required to comply with the spatial specifications decreed by Libeskind’s master plan and to follow explicit guidelines (LMDC 2003). The memorial was to be the nation’s principle site of the memory of 9/11, honouring the dead of New York, Washington and Shanksville, as well as the victims of the World Trade Centre bombing on 26 February 1993. A memorial fountain dedicated to the victims of the 1993 bombing had been erected at the World Trade Centre in 1995 but was destroyed in the 2001 attacks. The names of the six victims of 1993 are inscribed in the 9/11 Memorial. No separate memorial has been erected, indicating an absorption into the larger narrative of 9/11, an interesting notion considering the palimpsestic nature of collective memory (Huyssen 2003). Although national memorials have been built at both the Pentagon and the Flight 93 crash sites, they are dedicated to the dead of their respective locations only. The memorial at Ground Zero is the only one dedicated to all casualties of 9/11. It was to “commemorate the resilience as well as the grieving of survivors, co-workers, neighbours, and citizens profoundly affected” (LMDC Competition Guidelines 2003: ‘Invitation to Compete’), and to follow the guiding principles of conveying

the magnitude of personal and physical loss at this location
... [to] acknowledge those who aided in rescue, recovery and
healing ... [and to] respect and enhance the sacred quality of
the overall site and the space designated for the memorial.
(LMDC 2003:19)

¹⁰ For example, plans for a cultural exchange forum as part of the cultural centre were scrapped in 2005 after the fierce protests of 9/11 families, who opposed a ‘politicising’ of the ‘sacred ground,’ and gained wide media attention. For further reading in regards to emotional steps and procedures regarding the rebuilding of the site see Sorkin (2003), Young (2006), Greenspan (2013) or Sagalyn (2016). Most recently protests involve the 9/11 museum, ranging from ticket prices to their handling of the human remains in the depository.

Highlighted in the guidelines were the five physical key design elements to be incorporated into the proposals: (1) the recognition of each victim of 2001 and 1993, (2) an area for quiet visitation and contemplation, (3) the establishment of an area for families of victims, (4) a separate space providing a final resting place for unidentified remains from the World Trade Centre site and (5) the visualisation of the footprints of the Twin Towers. The mission statement published in the guide has remained unchanged since the competition launch and is now the official declaration of intent of the National 9/11 Memorial.¹¹ The full statement reads:

Remember and honor the thousands of innocent men, women, and children murdered by terrorists in the horrific attacks of February 26, 1993 and September 11, 2001.

Respect this place made sacred through tragic loss.

Recognize the endurance of those who survived, the courage of those who risked their lives to save others, and the compassion of all who supported us in our darkest hours.

May the lives remembered, the deeds recognized, and the spirit reawakened be eternal beacons, which reaffirm respect for life, strengthen our resolve to preserve freedom, and inspire an end to hatred, ignorance and intolerance.

The mission laid out how this was meant to be a place of collective remembrance by acknowledging it as one for both the dead and the living. In this the 9/11 memorial, and memorials in general, are social places in which public memory of the past is expressed in the present and for the present, as well as the future.

¹¹ *The Memorial Mission*, available at: <https://www.911memorial.org/mission-statements-0> (Accessed 16 May 2017).

A 13-member jury¹² reviewed the 5,201 entries from around the world, narrowing them down to eight finalists, then three, and eventually announcing the winner of the 9/11 memorial design competition in January 2004: Michael Arad's *Reflecting Absence* in partnership with landscape architect Peter Walker. According to the jury, the design with its minimalist aesthetic fulfilled

most eloquently the daunting – but absolutely necessary – demands of this memorial. In its powerful, yet simple articulation of the footprints of the Twin Towers, 'Reflecting Absence' has made the voids left by the destruction the primary symbols of our loss. By allowing absence to speak for itself, the designers have made the power of these empty footprints the memorial. At its core, this memorial is anchored deeply in the actual events it commemorates – connecting us to the towers' destruction, and more important, to all the lives lost on that day.¹³

In this early version of the design, the heart of the memorial was below ground and the names were arranged around the bottom of the reflecting pool basins. Visitors would descend down into the footprints via walkways. After much resistance from various groups, including family members, who viewed the below ground aesthetic an opposition to the vision of hope promoted by mission statement, as well as concerns about visitor safety and exceeding costs, the design was reworked, bringing the names above ground.¹⁴ Adjusting his design was a "tremendous blow," according to Arad, who had defended his design choices with a rigour that added to the publicised tensions between the different players involved in the project (Loos 2011). Although subsidised by the government, the building of the memorial depended much on fundraising, and compromises had to be made in order to ease tensions, stay on schedule, and to secure funds.

¹² The expert jury was comprised of family members, municipal representatives, architects and public artists, representatives of cultural funding bodies, curators and scholars. The member list is available at: <https://www.911memorial.org/design-competition> (Accessed 13 January 2013).

¹³ 'WTC Memorial Jury Statement for Winning Design', LMDC website, available at: http://www.wtcsitememorial.org/about_jury_txt.html (Accessed 4 April 2013).

¹⁴ Blais and Rasic (2011), Greenspan (2013) and Sagalyn (2016) provide a thorough discussion of the deep activism and involvement of the varying family groups.

Another such moment concerned the victims' names on the memorial. Michael Arad's design accommodated the requirement to remember each of the dead by inscribing the parapets surrounding each pool with the names of the victims. The names are cut out of brass plates, creating a literal absence in metal. Their placement, however, was a matter of much scrutiny. Arad had suggested arranging the names in a random order around the pools. In the winning statement the architect justified this choice, stating that,

After carefully considering different arrangements, I have found that any arrangement that tries to impose meaning through physical adjacency will cause grief and anguish to people who might be excluded from that process, furthering the sense of loss that they are already suffering. The haphazard brutality of the attacks is reflected in the arrangement of names, and no attempt is made to impose order upon this suffering. The selfless sacrifices of rescue workers could be acknowledged with their agency's insignia next to their names.¹⁵

However, family members did not appreciate an arbitrary arrangement. Families of uniformed victims (mostly first responders of the Fire Department of New York City (FDNY), the New York City Police Department (NYPD) and Port Authority Police) advocated for privileged recognition of the 'heroes' who had sacrificed their lives in an effort to rescue others. It was argued that they ought to be memorialised according to unit and rank, and there was a brief call for a separate space dedicated solely to the first responders (Blais and Rasic 2011). These arguments accord with Sturken's (2007) explorations of the post-attack environment in the United States. According to Sturken a hierarchy of grief developed, which she describes as a 'ring of intensity' "echoing outward from those directly effected, such as those who escaped, who were injured, and who survived, to those who lost loved ones and those who were nearby; each step gets further away from the 'real' trauma" (Sturken 2007: 29). Sturken's ideas highlight the contested and politicised nature of public memory, questions of

¹⁵ Reflecting Absence, Winning Statement by Michael Arad and Peter Walker, LMDC website, available at: <http://www.wtcsitememorial.org/fin7.html> (Accessed 4 April 2013).

‘ownership’ regarding grief, mourning and tragedy (Butler 2004, Doss 2006), as well as the tensions between personal and collective in light of tragedy.

Families of civilian victims challenged the *un*-democratising of the dead and the proposed notion of ‘hero,’ maintaining that a special recognition of a particular group over another would dismiss the sacrificial deeds performed by civilians,¹⁶ and the fact that thousands of people died who should not have. No consensus could be reached amongst the factions. To many, the names were the most intimate aspect of the memorial, the link between the absent dead and those left behind. According to Mayor Bloomberg, the issue of the names was the most contentious period in the years long designing and building process, with Arad adding, “for two years nobody talked about anything other than the name arrangement ... There was no fund-raising and no progress being made on construction and design” (Loos 2011). After much discussion and contemplations a compromise was reached to find a more meaningful (but non-hierarchical) order, one that would reflect that the victims were individual persons who had relationships with one another when they were alive. The agreed upon rearrangement was one according to ‘meaningful adjacencies,’ which included the active participation of family members as memory agents (approximately 1200 adjacency and location requests were made by family members), and a custom-made mathematical names algorithm (Matson 2011). The process took over a year.

Discussing the concept, Arad explained the organisation according to relationships as a symbolic attempt to “emphasis individual loss,” a way to give back “individuality” to the dead “and to hold it against the idea of communal loss” (Arad, cited in Millman 2011). Victims’ names are grouped around the memorial pools in nine broad categories that indicate where they were when they died: each of the four planes, the two towers, the pentagon, the first responders and the 1993 bombing (see

¹⁶ Amongst the most known stories of civilian acts of sacrifice are the passengers of Flight ’93 who banded together in an effort of overcoming the plane’s hijackers, and the ‘man in the red bandana’ who died in the South Tower while organising evacuations and repeatedly guiding others to safety. There are undoubtedly countless unknown others.

Appendix 1). The names of co-workers, friends and family members are placed together within their broader categories. The hidden meaning that is embedded in these meaningful adjacencies shows the relationships individual people had in life, even if they just happened to die together, as was the case with Victor Walk and Harry Ramos. According to witness accounts, they both worked in the North Tower but only met during the building's evacuation (Matson 2011). They died together in the stairwell on the 36th floor when the tower collapsed on them. Because of their togetherness in death, the families requested their names to be next to each other. To those family members requesting meaningful adjacencies, the grouping of names gave comfort as the emotional work required family members to think much about with whom *their* loved ones spent time, worked, who they liked (or disliked), or were friends with. Lena, a family member who I interviewed for this research, described this labour as a "thing we could do" when there was nothing else to be done, because her brother "is gone". The ability to choose his adjacencies to her was consoling, stating:

I chose to list my brother with the folks that he worked closest with. And so it brings me an enormous amount of calm and comfort to know that he's now dancing with the folks he lived with. I'm sorry, that he is in death with the folks that he lived with... same thing I guess. (Lena, 6 May 2014)

After this lengthy process in which the design was criticised, reworked and revised to address the varying concerns of different interest groups, as well as mounting costs, the memorial was opened to the public on 12 September 2011, the tenth anniversary of the attacks. Since then it has become one of New York's most popular tourist destinations, attracting over 30 million visitors to date.¹⁷ Towered over by 1 WTC to the north, the memorial plaza is dominated by two massive waterfalls inside the footprints, framed by squares of black metal etched with the names of the dead. The water descends twenty feet and pools before flowing to a smaller square in the

¹⁷ Based on the Annual Report Numbers released by the 9/11 Memorial and Museum Foundation. Available at: <http://2016.911memorial.org/> (Accessed on 23 May 2017).

middle of the fountain. The plaza has been planted with trees, and between the two waterfalls sits the glass pavilion of 9/11 Memorial Museum.¹⁸

I visited the memorial for the first time in January 2012. It was an odd experience, an odd place. Here, thousands of people used to work, then thousands of people lost their lives, many of whom were never found, evaporated, their particles perhaps mixed in with the concrete underneath my feet. Now it was a park, a controlled public area under strict surveillance and a main attraction for giggling tourists with shopping bags and selfie-sticks. The environment itself seemed preternatural. In the midst of an urban landscape, the noises of the city appeared visible rather than audible, sounds drowned by the memorial's cascading waterfalls. Although the memorial structure was completed, the surrounding areas were still under construction, and will be for some years to come. It is often forgotten, or omitted, that the physical destruction of 11 September was not limited to the two towers. All seven buildings that comprised New York's World Trade Centre were destroyed or irreparably damaged that day, as well as other buildings in the proximity. In addition to the memorial and museum, eleven new structures are planned or are being built in the area; as of May 2017, only six have been completed. 7 WTC was the first building to be completed in May 2006, followed by the memorial in September 2011 and 4 WTC in November 2013. The museum opened its doors to the public in 2014. Also completed in 2014 was 1 WTC. The *Oculus* housing shops and the transportation hub opened in March 2016 (seven years behind schedule), and the elevated Liberty Park at the southern edge of the memorial plaza was completed in June of the same year. Currently under construction are 3 WTC (to be opened in 2018) and St. Nicholas Greek Orthodox Church, while the work on 2 WTC and 5 WTC is currently on hold till tenants can be secured. Construction of the Performing Arts Centre has yet to begin.

¹⁸ After many delays the museum opened in May of 2014, after the completion of my fieldwork.

Because of the continuous rebuilding efforts, as well its symbolic significance, the site was (and is) considered a target for terrorism, and in 2012 security measures at the memorial were rather strict. Before being allowed onto the site, a valid entry ticket for the day with a specific time slot had to be obtained and printed out in advance via the memorial's website. Waiting in line with fellow visitors, my ticket was checked twice before being ushered through a security checkpoint that scanned both my belongings and my body, a familiar procedure of post-9/11 air travel. After two more ticket checks, I was finally granted entry to the memorial plaza. The literal tightness of the security measures was offset by the openness of the memorial plaza, which probably contributed to my initial sense of awe upon entering the site (see Prologue). This moment of wonderment coincided with a brief physical pausing as I was taking in the environment and (re)oriented my body in the suddenly large space.

The first view of the memorial was of the south pool, which sits in the footprint of the first fallen tower and the second one hit. It was the first waterfall visible to view upon entering. Like me, visitors were drawn towards the south-west corner of the cascade, huddling together in what I term a 'cluster-point,' a location spot that draws an audience and makes them linger for a while. Because of a cluster-point's popularity, groups of people were gathered there at all times, in turn waking the curiosity of even more people to 'check it out'. Some cluster-points were static such as that corner, the Survivor Tree or the museum pavilion. Others were malleable and temporal, for example the birthday roses which are discussed in more detail in Chapter 4. Choreographically speaking, cluster-points invited not only lingering, which coincides with a slowing of movement, but indeed prompted a bodily halt. Stillness, the stopping of motion, can be equated with moments of silence, which are public expressions of mourning (Gesty 2008, Brown 2012). During such moments of bodily silences or stillness, "private emotions appear as performed absence" precisely because the "act of voicing [or here gesturing] loss through the cessation of voice [or movement]" itself (Gesty 2008: 11). In this, one can think of the bodily doings in the space in terms of 'performance.'

When thinking of performance and public memory or remembrance, staged expressions of state mourning come to mind: parades on national holidays, wreath ceremonies on remembrance days, or the annual anniversary ritual of reading out loud the victims' names at Ground Zero. However, there are other forms of performances taking place as well. The memorial's architectural design, for example, elicited moments of bodily silence through the staging of a "powerful first encounter" with the voids (Arad, cited in Millman 2011), the absences left by the disappeared twin towers. The bodily actions of co-visitors acted in a similar manner, for instance at cluster-points. The roaring waterfalls, the pools far below and the openness of the space all contributed to a sensual experience of the space, which can be viewed in terms of performance: an environment enticing bodily expressions through an absence of movement (and other performances), a stage on which visitor performers act publically in a theatre of remembrance.

Schechner states:

When people 'go to the theatre' they are acknowledging that theatre takes place at special times in special places. Surrounding a show are special observances, practices and rituals that lead into the performance and away from it. Not only getting to the theatre district, but entering the building itself involves ceremony: ticket-taking, passing through gates, performing rituals, finding a place from which to watch: all this – and the procedures vary from culture to culture, event to event – frames and defines performance. Ending the show and going away involves ceremony: applause of some formal way to conclude the performance and wipe away the reality of the show re-establishing in its place the reality of everyday life. (Schechner 1988a: 189-90)

As discussed above, similar preparations were necessary in order to 'go there,' to visit the 9/11 memorial and witness (and partake) in the performance of remembrance on this official stage of public memory. Tickets obtained stated a specific time (although these regulations loosened as time went on); there was a

ticketing line and a ritual of entering and exiting. The space was set aside, removed from everyday life beyond the fence. But whereas traditional theatre settings place the action and actors on a proscenium-like stage, with an audience witnessing removed from the action, the memorial was a stage for social actors engaging in and performing remembrance. Performance has been used “as an organising concept for examining phenomena that may or may not be a performance in the conventional sense of the word,” (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, quoted in Franklin 2001: 218). Examples include examinations of performance and politics (Edelman 1985), tourism (Edensor 1998), or interactions in everyday life (Goffman 1990). All three of these areas can be observed regarding the performance of public memory of 9/11, in fact they often overlap. Throughout this thesis I am focusing on public remembrance of 9/11 ‘as’ performance (Schechner 2003), understanding it as “a way of revealing agency” (Denzin 2003: 9), a doing, behaving and showing (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1999), in front of an audience which, too, contributes to the performance (Goffman 1990, Schechner 1988a). Hence performance, like remembrance, is social.

It was cold and grey that day of my first visit, but I was taken by the design and felt solemn walking in a place built on top of the pulverised remains of the dead. Since May 2014 the memorial quite literally sits atop the unidentified remains of the dead. The 9/11 Museum underneath the memorial houses the Repository, a controversial resting place of ca. 7,930 human relics, operated by the New York City Office of Chief Medical Examiner. In ceremonial fashion, including saluting service men and women, a police escort and the American flag, the remains were transferred from Manhattan’s medical examiner office to their new, permanent home at the museum (Farrell 2014). The magnitude of names inscribed in the parapets added physicality to the magnitude of the loss of life. In order to really see or feel the cut out names and contemplate their absences my motion slowed and ceased, if only for a brief moment. A halting was necessary to reach out and engage tactilely with the memorial’s parapets, and maybe trace the letters representing through absence in the metal a person who is no longer there. I appreciated this choreography of reflection and remembrance the memorial suggested. At the same time I could not help feeling

disturbed by this site of mass tourism, surrounded by construction, abundant with security measures and filled with smiling, photographing co-visitors. To me it seemed 'improper' to trivialise this place in such a way. These feelings reminded me of past visits to concentration camps when I was a pupil in Germany. Every school year, the Shoah and the war, and what 'we Germans' did, was part of the curriculum in several subject areas. Most school excursions were to former concentration camps or WWI battlefields. I always felt intrigued yet ambivalent by the strangeness of these places, I was aware of how I was expected to behave and feel, and appalled by classmates whose actions did not meet the expected norms. It was the same in 2012.

The divisive struggles, first over what was to happen at Ground Zero, then the appearance and features of the memorial design played out in the public sphere, a dramatic performance of power and ownership, of mourning and meaning. They also made evident, again, how significant 9/11 was and is for so many people. 9/11 mattered, and the memorial can be understood as an abstract archive of sorts in that it is a supposedly enduring structural document that is working across time and space, and that is mediated and curated. In this function it is a leading character in the performance of the 9/11 master narrative. The memorial places I visited in my youth are just a few of many like it, places in remembrance of traumatic events laden with expectations of appropriate conduct and 'correct' memorialising practices. At the same time personal remembering plays a factor in these practices. The (re)telling of my own remembrances encompassing 9/11 in the beginning of this chapter and elsewhere (in italics) excavate some of my memories as a counterpoint to the official processes of memorialisation and remembrance taking place, highlighting that sometimes personal memories have little bearing on the everyday experience of 9/11. The memorial erected at Ground Zero signifies the collective response to the events of 11 September.

Since the attacks three national memorials have been constructed, one at each of the impact/crash/death sites in New York City, at the Pentagon and in the field near

Shanksville, PA¹⁹. Each memorial design was chosen following a design competition, and each is tasked with remembering the lives lost that day. Whereas both the Pentagon Memorial and the Flight 93 National Memorial are dedicated and engraved with the names of the dead at their particular site (184 and 40 respectively), the National 9/11 Memorial at Ground Zero is inscribed with the collective names of all the dead of that day. It is the flagship memorial encapsulating the 'entire' official story, the official public memory, of the terror attacks.

Although all three memorials were visited and conceptualised for this research, the 9/11 Memorial and its vicinity in New York was chosen as primary field site because of the importance of this particular location: The site holds symbolic and historical significance and as such is central to its social memory. The Twin Towers were the initial point of impact and have come to represent the terror attacks. They are symbolic of the event itself, are principle characters in the performance of memory, and are arguably the most famous victims of 9/11. The circulated images of the planes crashing into the towers, the towers burning and collapsing, people jumping to their deaths (although in an unprecedented collective decision, images of 'jumpers' were omitted by the US media),²⁰ dust-covered firefighters, and rescuers hoisting a battered flag found near the rubble, have aided the formation of a national 9/11 narrative. The site now serves as the principle space of memorialisation and commemoration and stands for '9/11'. Here sits the official memorial and a dedicatory museum providing detailed information about the events of the day, and the site where the annual commemorative services take place. Visitors come here to remember, or so they say, and it is here where the official memory is ensconced. At its edges are the supportive and exploitative entrepreneurs as well as dissenters from the official 'national' message. As a consequence, in many ways the memorial is a public and national stage where selected remembrance is performed and even individual memories become a public display.

¹⁹ There are numerous other 9/11 memorials across the United States. The three national ones at each attack site represent the official memory and the national master-narrative of the events of 9/11.

²⁰ Both Zelitzer (2010) and Kirouac-Fram (2011) discuss the collective self-censorship regarding images of people jumping from the burning towers undertaken by the US media after 13 September 2001.

In more recent years, public conversations about 11 September have shifted in focus from collective grief, memorialisation and retaliation, towards flawed political rhetoric, diluted civil rights under the pretence of national security, and an attempted (re)negotiating of the nation's moral values in the light of damning torture reports. Perhaps enough time has now passed for a more critical, albeit careful, evaluation of the response to the attacks. And perhaps enough time has passed for me to grapple with a subject matter I have avoided for so long. Remembering is connected to time, for past events are recalled after the fact and brought into the present through the act of remembering. Whether individual or public and collective, remembrance occurs in a temporal spiral through which it can resurface in a continuously evolving present. The memories are filtered through a contemporary lens and are (re)interpreted accordingly, again and again. In the early stages of fieldwork I was highly emotional and firmly accepting of the memorialising practises and performance acts commemorating the event, and especially the memorial space at Ground Zero. I was taken by the architectural details, the simplicity of the designed environment, and the memorialising of the dead. As time went on, the enchantment wore off, leaving me with a feeling of distaste for the institutionalisation, commodification and appropriation of 9/11.

Public manifestations of remembrance, such as memorials and commemorations, are an odd confluence of the past and present, are entangled 'pastpresents' that, according to King (2004: 459) "cannot be purified each from the other". They are intended to actively bridge the gap between before and after, and to create a story of the appropriate and officially endorsed narrative of the relationship between then and now. Following a collectively impactful event, impromptu street memorials and commemorations are often the first acts of remembrance publically performed. According to Sturken, in New York City in the days and weeks after the attacks, the

leaving flowers, writing collective messages and lighting candles were declarative acts that aimed to individualize the dead. Whereas the images of spectacle produced an image of a collective loss, of a "mass body," these rituals sought to speak to the dead as individuals. As such, these objects and

messages attempted to resist the transformation of the individual identities of the victims into a collective subjectivity of disaster. (Sturken 2007: 173)

At the same time, it was an attempt to forge a sense of connection with those no longer present. Similarly, in their three months-long running series *Portraits of Grief*, the *New York Times* published brief, informal obituaries for many of the victims, claiming to (re)attribute a sense of personhood to the dead of 9/11, although certainly not all.²¹ Many have remained ‘un-named’, absorbed into the collective ‘mass body’ described by Sturken (2007). The spontaneous acts of individualising the few have long disappeared from Manhattan’s streets and newspapers, though some remnants are preserved in places such as St. Paul’s Chapel, east of the memorial. Each anniversary they reappear, then disappear again. What remains is the memorial and its promise of permanence, decorated with thousands of name-less names despite its declaration to ‘never forget’.

The illusion of permanence coincides with the further illusion that what is called memory is a lasting, authentic and accurate (re)representation of the past. However, “memories are changeable over time; that is to say, they are not fixed or perfect copies of experience but undergo repeated revision and transformation with each attempt at recollection” (Kirmayer, Lemelson and Barad 2008: 8). Constantly re-made in the now, memory is indeed not a product of the past, but a process of the present. What is remembered is inevitably influenced, constructed and (re)interpreted via contemporary lenses of spatial, socio-cultural and social-political contexts. This is true of both individual and public memories that are shared by many. In cases of nationally impactful events, the remembrances of the past in the present are often deliberate, carefully staged manifestations of political agendas.

²¹ On 31 December 2001 the *New York Times* wrote: “Through today's issue, The Times has published more than 1,800 sketches. The official count of those dead and missing in the trade center attacks stands at 2,937. Reporters have contacted, or tried to contact, relatives or friends of nearly every victim the paper was able to locate. Some have declined to give interviews; others said they were not ready to talk” (Scott 2001).

I am writing this thesis over a decade after the events of 9/11, well after the fact. Much has been written about ‘that fateful day in September’, about the contested clean up and (re)building efforts of Ground Zero (Langewische 2002, Sorkin 2003, Goldberger 2004, Greenspan 2013, Sagalyn 2016), the design processes and procedures (Stephens, Luna and Broadhurst 2004, Young 2006, Sturken 2007), about mourning and memorialisation (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2003, Greenspan 2003, Sturken 2004, Engle 2007, Fraenkel 2011), commemoration (Simpson 2006, Stow 2012), violence, trauma and memory (Greenberg 2003, Edkins 2004, Butler 2004, Seidler 2013). The attacks, and public responses to them, have been examined in art and literature (Ritter and Daughtry 2007, Däwes 2010, Randall 2011, Fisher and Flota 2011), through visual and popular culture (Andén-Papadopoulos 2003, Kaplan 2005, Davidov 2006, Birkenstein, Froula and Randell 2010), the media (Zelitzer 2010, Kirouac-Fram, J. 2011), and tourism, kitsch and commodification (Lisle 2004, Heller 2005, Sturken 2007, Gutman 2009, Sather-Wagstaff 2008, 2011); they have been approached in terms of political rhetoric, security and terrorism (Sherman and Nardin 2006, Redfield 2009, Bond 2011, Lundborg 2012), national identity (Lawrence 2005, Collins 2004, Bratta 2009, Anderson 2011) and ‘a coming to terms’ in a post-9/11 world (Hirsch 2003, Taylor 2003, Low 2004, Low, Taplin and Lamb 2005, Bond 2015).

These, and multiple other works not mentioned here, tend to treat 11 September politically, solemnly and piously. A review of the vast literature dealing with the terror attacks reveals that ideas concerning performance have been left widely underexplored in this context. Although ‘performance’ has been applied and implied metaphorically in 9/11-discourse classifying the United States as a principle player in the “theatre of terror” fought on a global stage (Weimann 2008: 528), as well as literally in theatrical and musical stage productions (Carlson 2004, Fisher and Flota 2011), the acts of remembrance, memorialisation and commemoration of 9/11 have rarely been viewed as and through a performance lens. The performance approach has something more to bring for trying to understand what happened on 9/11 and how it is memorialised and remembered.

Most of these works have been researched and written in a time before the memorialisation of the attacks was ‘set in stone’, before the completion of the 9/11 Memorial. The ‘new’ phase of Ground Zero, a designed ‘permanent’ reminder of what (it) was, and the performances occurring in and around it, has yet to be examined to such extent. Indeed, the malleability of places of memory is evident in the timeframe of the thesis as well. The field research for this study was conducted between 2012 and 2014, capturing a moment of ‘secured’ memorialisation of Ground Zero that is no longer the case. Whereas the memorial plaza was then a ticketed, fenced-in, and heavily surveilled perimeter, it is now (as of May 2014) an open space, an urban park freely accessible from all surrounding streets. This ethnographic study, therefore, makes a particular contribution to the history of memorialisation and commemoration by preserving a snapshot of a particular stage of memory-making of 9/11 and Ground Zero.

Furthermore, this thesis makes a conceptual intervention regarding the relationship between performance studies and the sociology of memory. By drawing out the constructive tension between the two disciplines, this research recalls a long-lasting debate in performance studies – the performance of memory versus the memory of performance – and places it in a conversation with sociological thoughts. The works of Phelan (1993), Schneider (2011), and Taylor (2003) especially highlight that performance has been thinking about memory for a long time, whereas memory has not explored performance to such extent. Indeed, studies concerned with social memory have neglected explorations of performance as an activity, a doing, and instead focus largely on the representative qualities of performance. By exploring the public remembrance of 9/11 in terms of performance, this thesis intends to contribute to our understanding of public memorialisation and social remembering. This is done through a specific methodological approach that combines reflexivity via narrative non-fiction interludes, one-on-one interviews, and the analysis of performances, which, too, presents a development in the study of social memory.

This thesis is concerned with the practice of remembering, the ways it is achieved, realised, or performed in public, often in mundane ways and sometimes in staged and choreographed occasions. 9/11 serves as the study through which these implications are explored. 9/11 happened. It is remembered and therefore it is social. It is varied, conflictive, public and collective. This thesis explores the particularities that make the public memory of 9/11 in New York City. It sets out to unpack the layers of public performances of a national memory on a localised stage. In this, it develops an analytical frame drawing from theoretical resources of social memory and performance studies to interpret how and when individuals subscribe to the public and/or official memories of the events being memorialised. Centred on the practices of public remembrance surrounding the events of 11 September in New York City, and especially in lower Manhattan and the flagship national memorial, my research investigates the performed doings of public remembrance. In doing so, it examines how and by whom public remembrances of the event are framed, performed and maintained on local levels. The research is concerned with how remembrance is organised, enacted and displayed in public and argues that remembrance is performance.

This thesis is organised into seven chapters. Chapter 2 *Memory as Performance*, engages further with the particularities of public memory, remembrance and performance. It provides an overview of relevant approaches in the vast field of memory studies, and draws links to theories rooted in performance studies. It develops a theoretical framework suited for the exploration of the research queries I am engaging with, exploring how ideas about public memory interface with those concerning performance. Chapter 3 outlines the methodology utilised in this research, the toolkit of data collection, fitting the inquiry posed by the research questions. Largely based on ethnographic participant observation and ‘thick description’ (Geertz 1973), it justifies the prominence given to sensory aspects of knowing, especially vision and bodily movements. Descriptive settings inspired by approaches of performance analysis aid my framing of scenarios, or case studies, that

are at the core of the substantive Chapters 4 through 6. The focus of these chapters coincides with the aim to probe how and by whom public remembrance is done, (en)acted and performed on national and local, official and vernacular stages. The ethnographic approach allows for the exploration of different acts and characters performed in different settings as they occur 'live' in the moment.

Chapter 4 *At the Memorial: Family, Tourists and Locals*, examines the performances of three representative 'archetypes' of visitor characters found 'in everyday life' at the 9/11 Memorial: a family member, out-of-town tourist/visitors, and a local New Yorker. It explores how each perform a remembering of 9/11 and how they negotiate the official space as both performer and spectator. In this they are agentic in their doing of remembrance and their interpretation of its meanings. Through the exploration of the three cases, the chapter shows that although the performances at the memorial site occur in an institutionalised, scripted and choreographed environment, the bodily (en)acting of and at the site may lead to counter performances and can shift complex boundaries and commemorative narratives.

Chapter 5 *Remembering in Motion: Commemorative Walks and Runs*, considers organised performance acts taking place beyond the parameters of the national memorial site. It provides the examples of two vernacular commemorative events, the *Father Mychal Judge 9/11 Walk of Remembrance* and the *Tunnel to Towers 5K Run & Walk*. Framing the events as performed and bodily remembering, the chapter shows how narratives privileging the national version of the attacks are not strictly bound to its official, spatial, representation. The two walking/ running events are public processions, are ritual-like (re)enactments that solidify and reaffirm the politicised national commemorative master narrative of 9/11.

Chapter 6 *The Anniversary: Mourners, Truthers and Rememberers*, investigates the anniversary of the attacks in a two-fold manner, examining both official and

vernacular commemorative practices at and near Ground Zero. The 9/11 memorial plaza provides the stage for the official, televised, ritual of commemoration which is organised around the annual reading of the victims' names. Closed to the general public, the memorial on this day is reserved for family members and invited guests. Juxtaposing this official performance of state mourning and remembrance with vernacular forms of remembrance, this chapter furthermore explores remembering performed in the margins of the official site, beyond the temple-like, inaccessible fence of the memorial. On the anniversary date various characters strategically enter these side stages, performing personal versions of remembering, (re)enacting the past or appropriating the event for political purposes. Through this two-fold emphasis, the chapter highlights the intensified separation of official and vernacular public memory occurring on the anniversary and shows how in both settings organisers and actors utilise embodied performance strategies to gain or regain visibility in the public sphere.

The final Chapter 7 *Reflections on Remembering*, weaves together the principle research findings of this thesis, and teases out the performed ephemeral, multiple and contested nature of the public remembrances observed throughout this research. It highlights the broad range of performed remembering, from subtle gestures at the memorial site to official and national spectacles of commemoration. Furthermore, the concluding chapter draws out the empirical and methodological contributions this research makes not only in regards to the work dealing with 9/11, but also to the ever-growing canon of collective memory studies.

Chapter 2. Memory as Performance

It was a mild day on 30 May 2002 in New York City when hundreds of recovery workers, family members, volunteers and government representatives gathered one last time at what was then Ground Zero. Lining up in formation along the long exit ramp connecting the pit, as the construction area was known, to the street above, they stood in silence as the sounds of a fire bell filled the air. Hands on hearts they watched as an assortment of representatives (high ranking members of the FDNY, NYPD, the Port Authority, government officials) carried an empty stretcher draped in an American flag into a waiting ambulance. Accompanied by the drumming and bagpiping of a military band, and underneath a banner stating: “we will never forget”, the empty vehicle left the premises, in representation and memory of those who were never found in the nine-month long recovery effort. The ambulance was the first to leave, leading a ceremonial procession, so marking the end of the recovery and clean-up period at Ground Zero.

Following this American symbol of absence, the ceremonial focus rested on the Last Column,²² a remaining metal structural beam of the south tower. Draped in both the American flag and black shrouds the pillar was hauled off in a funeral-like manner through lines of saluting mourners, conjuring images of John F. Kennedy’s funeral in 1963. Like then, spectators stood in silence, paying their respects and bidding farewell to this last upright standing remnant of the Twin Towers; the beam eerily resembling a corpse of

²² The 11 metre tall steel beam was part of the core structural foundation of the South Tower. Still standing upright after the buildings collapsed it became an important artefact for recovery workers, as it represented a locational marker for the lobby of the South Tower where many of the first responders were killed. In the months of search and clean up, the beam was appropriated as canvas on which final messages, photos and objects were placed and inscribed. The artefact is now one of the prime exhibits in the 9/11 museum. Two days before the ceremony described above, on the evening of 28 May 2002, the Last Column had been cut down by construction workers in a private ceremony and ‘laid to rest’ on the flatbed truck that would then transport it out of the site during the televised procession.

a fallen soldier or president. Lastly, the recovery workers themselves, adorned in flower necklaces, joined the procession marching out of the now orderly pit amongst applause and cheering of the congregated audiences. The ceremony marked the official point at which Ground Zero was no longer a disaster and recovery zone: it was now deemed a construction site. The trauma was officially concluded – it was time to rebuild. And with this public and televised act of commemoration and remembrance, that fact was proclaimed loudly.

This ceremonial service was intentionally dramatic, as all public commemorations are. It was a public display of remembrance, a performance, laden with emotional appeal, with symbolism and metaphors orchestrated for an American public still coping with the loss of lives, buildings and their perceived sense of security. And as with all public commemorations, it was staged for a specific purpose. Underneath the grandly produced ritual and procession laid the economic and political pressures to rebuild and reclaim publically the myth of American superiority while at the same time attempting to negotiate both family members' and the nation's grief. At this stage in the memorialising process of Ground Zero and 9/11, no decision had been made about what was to happen at the site. The contestations that defined this decision-making were stewing in the background but took a back seat in this very visible, funeral-like ritual of mourning and remembrance.

To remember means to recall the past. This recalling always occurs in the present, after the fact. Memory is neurological, a measurable occurrence in the brain. It is also psychological, individually encoded, stored and retrieved. Memory may be flawed and impressionable. And memory is social, conditioned and constructed through and by human interactions. The complexity of memory is vast and reflected accordingly in the many different disciplines and approaches taken under the all-imposing umbrella term of memory studies (Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi and Levy 2011). A core challenge then is finding a definition that is suited for the exploration of the

performative aspects of remembering. With that I do not only refer to the spectacle-like manner of commemoration as described in the example above, but also to remembrances occurring in day to day actions and interactions, or, in a nod to Goffman (1990), ‘the performance of remembrance in everyday life.’

This chapter will provide an overview of the key concepts surrounding the construction of public remembering and the performing and interactive nature of places and acts of remembrance. It will discuss how public remembering is socially constructed and therefore bound to present situational and temporal contexts. These contexts are defined, fashioned and perpetuated by dominant powers in society whose versions of the past serve the preservation of authority and to strengthen an imagined sense of national identity. The constructive processes and remembrances are often political ones, and official discourses are framed for present and future objectives. Nevertheless, these official versions may be contested vernacularly through counter-memories and counter-monuments playing out in the public sphere, circulating alternative versions of the ‘truth’. Also discussed are built memorial structures and memorialising rituals such as the leaving of memory objects which serve as public markers commemorating tragic loss, make present those and that who/which are/is no more, are/is absent. Places of memory perform the public function of manifesting memory in physical form. They too are social constructs, made meaningful through social and embodied engagements with the site. Public remembrance is performed and transmitted not merely through inscribed texts, but also through embodied memorial practices e.g. commemorative rituals and bodily interactions with both social actors and the site of memory itself. Furthermore, this chapter will discuss concepts of performance defined as actions and modes of behaviour which at their core are emotive and require the presence of an audience, so highlighting the performative nature of public acts of remembrance and the various (en)actors involved in the process.

2.1 Collective Memory is Social

The study of collective memory is a paradoxical one as memory holds dual properties: it occurs in both public and private spheres, can be both intimate and distant. Memories can be political or autobiographical; they can be expressed and displayed or kept private. Our memories are deeply personal yet can be collectively shared by many who witness or experience a particular event. Often these communal events are of traumatic nature: wars or natural catastrophes, or atrocious acts of human behaviour such as genocide and political oppression (see Winter 1995, Zerubavel 1995, Hughes 2003, Seltz 2004). These studies, especially of the latter, are characterised by the contestation of the official versions of the past (Conway 2003, Greenspan 2013, Keene 2011, Hoskins 2007, Antze and Lambeck 1996). The memorialisation of World War I and II (Fussell 1975, Winter 1995, Noakes 1998, 2015, West 2010), the Shoah (Young 1993, 2000, Smith 2000, Connelly 2004, Hoffman 2004, Novick 2000, Friedländer 1992, Kugelmass 1994), or South Africa and apartheid (Stanley 2006, Coombes 2003) are prominent examples in this regard. These contestations reveal that what is perceived as a collective and unifying past is indeed made up of several different memories, memories often in direct opposition to the 'truth' put forth by the dominant forces of society: the winners of war, social and economic elites, etc. The traumatic events and subsequent memorialisation of 11 September 2001 have certainly been defined by the very public and bitter debates about appropriate ways of public remembrance and how to (re)use the destructed space (Goldberger 2004, Sturken 2007, Greenspan 2013). But before going deeper into matters regarding 'proper' ways of publically memorialising collective events, theories of collective remembering should be explained.

The starting point in most works dealing with the collective approach to memory is Maurice Halbwachs (1992), often declared the father of collective memory studies (Misztal 2003, Olick, Vinitzky-Serrousi and Levy 2011). Halbwachs methodically theorized the nature of collective memory and the relationship between the individual and the collective. Although memories are recollected individually, they are expressed and (re)enacted within established social frameworks and conventions. To

Halbwachs, individual memory is constructed within social structures and institutions, or 'social frameworks of memory'. Remembering must be understood as an activity, a process, in which memories are reconstructed in reference to the social frameworks and symbols established by one's social group. Without these social reference points (or groups in which these reference points are embedded) individual memory is anchorless and rendered meaningless. Indeed, individual memory is formed in interactions with and within one's social environment. Collective and personal memories therefore are dependent on one another. They exist in an interplay that connect and inform a person (and a person's memories) to and of a group, and with it a group's past and sense of identity, so serving as a link between what *was*, the past, and what *is*, the present. Collective memory thus is an inherently social and active process, as "it is in society that people normally acquire their memories. It is also in society that they recall, recognise and localise their memories" (Halbwachs 1992: 38). Memories, to Halbwachs, are naturally fleeting and need to be fastened in some material form if they are to survive the passage of time, and so need to be localised in something physical like a structure, object, or landscape because space is an important medium for the transmission of memory. These recollective markers are institutionalised and represent abstract ideas about the past which are stabilised in a physical form. They are symbols of collective and social practices which are interpreted within, and are subject to, specific social frameworks, specific temporal and locational contexts, and so are "continually reproduced" (Halbwachs 1992: 47).

Although the placement of memory markers in deliberately chosen public locations is the attempt to keep alive a particular memory, Halbwachs (1992), in his discussion of the topography of the Holy Land, demonstrates that the meanings of memorial landscapes are altered, assigned, and reassigned by various groups over time. Examining the origins of Christianity and the 'rediscovery' of ancient sacred sites in what he calls Palestine during the crusades, he argues that with their departure from the Holy Land early Christians took with them a version, or vision, not only of traditions but of the landscapes and landmarks significant in their religious lore. Through the spreading of the gospels (written down well beyond Jesus' lifetime) an

image was dispersed of the messiah's ministry and the region in which he lived, performed miracles, died and became resurrected. However, Halbwachs points out,

when an event occurs that is worth remembering and reporting, it is precisely the presence of direct witnesses which increases the chances that some of its features will be changed ... this is especially the case when the event is of a nature that arouses deep emotions in groups of people ... At the moment when they report what they have seen, they are likely to exclude some details they think are of no interest to their communities. (Halbwachs 1992: 194)

The instability of testimony becomes even more fickle with the passing of time, and includes the memories associated with the locations in which the stories are said to have occurred. In the Christian context explored by Halbwachs, the memories of a land no longer inhabited were transformed over time into symbolic representations and idealised imaginaries associated with belief, rather than a real place. Perhaps these locations hold traces of what was, but they certainly are no authentic representation of the places which themselves have, or have been, transformed independently by the same passing of time. After Roman Emperor Constantine's religious conversion and the subsequent indoctrination and politicisation of Christianity, there was a need to find and fix the mythical places of Christ's sacrificial suffering and resurrection in physical form. Places and objects (relics) were 'discovered' and ascribed with meaning in accordance with this dogma. A few hundred years later, crusaders arriving in Jerusalem carried with them an idea of a city "they had not seen in ... reality, [yet] they could see it in their imagination ... But this image vastly differed from the actual city of this epoch" (Halbwachs 1992: 230). To adjust the "spatial memories [in a] place where everything is changed, where there are no more vestiges or landmarks" the crusaders 'conveniently' ignored that the 'sacred' sites "had in fact been destroyed in part, and what remained was deformed, of doubtful significance, and of uncertain authenticity" (Halbwachs 1992: 231). As a result they began the 'rediscovery' and "reconstruction of the holy places" (Halbwachs 1992: 231). This deliberate localisation of significant events associated with the origins of Christianity, an inventing of authenticity and a 'history after the

fact,’ provided not only a spatial framework, but also performed a legitimising function reflecting the political ambitions and doctrinal developments of a particular authority and time.

Perspectives of collective memory

Halbwachs’ observations demonstrate that memory is mutable, not fixed, as it is subject to socio-political frames of both the present and the past. The construction of memory is influenced and informed by the tides and concerns of the present. Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi and Levy (2011: 40-41) point out that Halbwachs’ treatise is somewhat inconsistent, as his elaborations on collective memory sometimes refer to “socially framed individual memory” while at other times only referring to “the common memory of groups”. In their critique they do not seem to notice Halbwachs’ (1992) explorations regarding the topography of the Holy Land in which he points towards the palimpsestic nature and malleability of a group’s memories, arguing that:

In each period the collective Christian memory adapts its recollections of the details of Christ’s life and of the places where they occurred to the contemporary exigencies of Christianity to its needs and aspirations. However, in their effort to adapt, people encounter resistance of things ... these objects were the result of an earlier adaptation of beliefs inherited from the past to the beliefs of the present; at the same time they were the result of adaptation of the latter to the material vestiges of ancient beliefs ... Whatever epoch is examined, attention is not directed toward the first events, or perhaps the origin of these events, but rather toward the group of believers and toward their commemorative work. When one looks at the physiognomy of the holy places in successive times, one finds the character of these groups inscribed (Halbwachs 1992: 234-5).

Halbwachs’ perceived contradictions do, however, raise questions as to where collective memory is located and how it is understood: as a memory of the group, a collectivist understanding, or in the group members, an individualist approach (Wertsch 2002). Both understandings operate under the core assumption that

collective memory is inherently social. Both are notable branches in the existing literature on collective memory studies. From an individualist perspective memories are “socially framed individual memories” (Olick 1999: 336). They are a production and a collection of shared individual memories embedded in social frameworks (see Zerubavel 1996, Schuman and Willard 2004). A collectivist understanding sees “remembering as an active and constructive process rather than a production [in which] the past is remade in the present for present purposes” (Olick 1999: 341). Jeffery K. Olick (1999) attempts to negotiate the ambiguities in Halbwachs’ work. Acknowledging the value of both approaches, he suggests an alteration of terminology – from collective memory to social memory – as it remains “open to a variety of phenomena while pointing out that all remembering is in some sense social” (Olick 1999: 346). A closer look at each perspective of social remembering is helpful.

“Remembrance ... is more than a spontaneous personal act. It is also regulated by unmistakably social rules of remembrance that tells us quite significantly what we should remember and what we can and must forget” (Zerubavel 1996: 286). Eviatar Zerubavel here proposes an individualist approach, arguing that “our social environment affects how we remember the past” (Zerubavel 1996: 283), so highlighting the social contexts of individual remembering. “What we ‘remember’ is actually filtered (and therefore inevitably distorted) through a process of interpretation that usually takes place within particular social surroundings. Such distortions affect the actual facts we recall as well as the particular ‘tone’ in which we recall them” (Zerubavel 1996: 286). Recollections of early experiences therefore are merely “reinterpretations of the way we originally experienced and remembered” (Zerubavel 1996: 286). Zerubavel introduces the notion of ‘mnemonic socialisation’ which refers to the processes by which members of a community, especially children, are taught how to, and what to remember (as well as to forget) within the established social frameworks of that particular group. The process is one of familiarisation with the group’s past, simultaneously serving as a tool of continuation of the group’s identity. This particular type of socialisation takes place in ‘mnemonic

communities', groups or communities "such as the family, the ethnic group or the nation, [that] provide the social contexts in which memories are embedded and mark the emotional tone, depth and style of our remembering" (Misztal 2003: 160). What mnemonic socialisation and community implies is a "tradition of remembering [which further] underscores the normative dimension of memory" (Zerubavel 1996: 286). Education, linguistic conventions, or holiday traditions are all learned ways of remembrance. Collective memory for Zerubavel (1996: 294) refers to a shared and jointly remembered past, a past that is "co-memorated" by an entire mnemonic community, and "involves the integration of various different personal pasts into a single common past that all members of a particular mnemonic community come to remember collectively". Anniversaries and holidays aid the maintaining of collective memory.

A collectivist perspective, also called presentism, follows the assumption that "social frameworks and historical circumstances change over time and, with them, the ... alignments of past, present and future" (Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi and Levy 2011: 37). To Megill (2011: 196) "memory is an image of the past constructed by a subjectivity in the present". It is in the needs and wants of the now that the past is shaped and repeatedly (re)represented. Remembering then is an active process, defined by fluidity and mutability. Acknowledging this, James Wertsch (2002) stresses the importance of the term collective *remembering* (as opposed to memory). The term linguistically connotes that remembering is a *doing* constituting of many different acts of remembering. Winter and Sivan (2000) too prefer the term remembering over memory because it implies sets of signifying practices, engagement and agency. The term further stresses the transient nature of memory "so dependent on the frailties and commitments" of those who engage in it (Winter 2006: 3).

Remembering involves present-time activities, doings and practices. When dealing with matters of social memory, remembering occurs in the public sphere and

therefore involves a political dimension, for example the strategic construction of national monuments or the formation of public commemorative rituals and spectacles. Zerubavel (1995: 6) suggests that

each act of commemoration reproduces a commemorative narrative, a story about a particular past that accounts of this ritualized remembrance and provides a moral message for the group members. In creating this narrative, collective memory clearly draws upon historical sources. Yet it does so selectively and creatively.

This implies a fictional and fragmentary dimension of public memory and commemoration. The master narrative consists of an underlying and adhesive plot structure that links the different versions and incarnations of collective remembering. Collective memory is not established and maintained through an accurate, or authentic charting of the past, but rather through the reaffirming images of what the past means and represents. Particular events are selected, emphasised and presented as symbolic turning points, ruptures that changed the natural order and divide time into a discourse of before and after. In this symbolic function, “collective memory can transform historical events into political myths that function as a lens through which group members perceive the present and prepare for the future” (Zerubavel 1995: 9). The commemorative master narrative is an image of the past that is (re)enacted, conveyed and sustained in ritual performances and so “represents the political elite’s construction of the past” (Zerubavel 1995: 10-11)

A nation’s memory is tied to the politics of memory defined by contestation and dominated and articulated by elites, which can be considered a ‘stipulation’ to borrow Susan Sontag’s (2003) term. Political discourse seeks to legitimise national identity through the presentation of the nation’s values and ideals (institutions, school curricula, textbooks, media, monuments etc.). Zertal (2005) argues that collective memories are cultural constructs that are “products of socio-political realities which reflect power struggles and political motivations existing within that

society” (Zertal 2005: 118). Especially in commemorations of trauma, struggles and contestations are palpable because different interest groups are adamant about their versions of the events and how they should be memorialised. What and who is remembered and how? And more so, “who has the right (or power or authority) to decide what happens at a particular site” (Knauer and Walkowitz 2004: 2); and who is authorised to interpret events that are viewed as national narratives? Arguments over the preservation or abandonment of particular sites (and narratives) are entangled in political and economic interests as well as abstract and emotional ones. The political makings of public remembering do inform the understanding of the socially constructed present. Contests over the meanings of the past are also contests over the meanings of the now. The

focus of the contestation ... is very often not conflicting accounts of what actually happened in the past as much as the question of who or what is entitled to speak for the past in the present. The attempt to resolve the meaning in the present is thus often a matter of conflicts over representation. (Hodgkin and Radstone 2003: 1)

This reveals the strategic character of collective memory, which according to Susan Sontag (2003: 86) “is not a remembering but a ... collective instruction”.

However, there are “limits to the power of actors in the present to remake the past according to their own interests”, Schudson (1997: 4) suggests. Barry Schwartz (2000) concurs, noting that although the past is a functional component of any social group or culture as “collective memory reflects past events in terms of needs, interests, fears, and aspirations of the present”, social memory at the same time provides a “*template* that organises and animates behaviour and a *frame* within which people locate and find meaning for their present experience” (Schwartz 2000: 18, emphasis in the original). Schwarz (2000) is critical of a rigid political focus in the study of collective memory as it limits and underestimates the present. To Schwartz, “the politics of memory produces little understanding of collective

memory as such – only its causes and consequences” (Schwarz 2000: 17). Instead he understands collective memory as a cultural system, as it is through organised symbolic patterns that people make sense of and interpret the past. As such it “is never a simple act of power but a symbolic filter through which experience – political or otherwise – is apprehended” (Schwarz 2000: 18).

Towards public remembrance

A related, but more ‘moderate’ approach, public memory, alleviates some of Schwarz’s concerns. The notion of public memory, referred to as popular memory by Misztal (2003), often adopts a presentist stance, acknowledging that the past is represented in accordance with present, dominant interests. Public memory further assumes that these representations are political and are subject to contestations. Yet, as Misztal asserts, whereas the politics of memory approach suggests that “memories are socially constituted from above ... imposed on a public that has no agency” (Misztal 2003: 61-2), public memory does give agency to the public as it allows for the possibility that versions of remembering can also be constructed from below, locally or by non-elites. ‘Ghost bikes’ are one such example for locally constructed public memorials. Ghost bikes are memorials for bicyclists killed in traffic, taking the form of a bike painted white and locked up permanently near the site of death. Not commissioned by official bodies, these grassroots memory markers also function as warning and are forms of public activism (Dobler 2011).

This thesis adopts this presentist approach to public memory because of its useful understanding of remembering as activity done in the present and its acknowledgment of agency regarding both the production and consumption of public memory. To be more specific, public memory deals with the “publicness of the past” (Tota 2006: 82). It connotes a memory that is visible in the public sphere, and so plays a role in the formation of social memory. Public memory deals with public displays, performed manifestations of remembrance such as memorials or

commemorations. Often these displays are organised and staged by official bodies, grandly re-presenting the authorised and proper ways to remember the particular event. However, not all public acts of remembrance are of such nature. Events may be organised by groups contesting the official and popular representations of the past, proclaiming their alternative views. Other public acts of remembering may be innately intimate, anonymous expressions of grief, sympathy or solidarity, for example roadside shrines (Santino 2003, Collins and Opie 2010) or flowers left at a memorial fence (Sturken 2007, Fraenkel 2011, Greenspan 2013). John Bodnar's (1993) theories concerning these different types of publics are particularly useful in differentiating between the diverse forms of public memory.

Bodnar (1993: 15) defines public memory as

a body of beliefs and ideas about the past that helps a public or society understand both its past, present and by implication, its future. It is fashioned ideally in the public sphere in which various parts of the social structure exchange views.

By tracing the political agenda of public memory in the US, Bodnar identifies two distinct, and at times oppositional sectors of memory, official and vernacular, which together form a public memory. Official memory refers to national or state-sponsored commemorations imperative to American national identity and patriotism such as the Revolutionary War of Independence and the Civil War, as well as the Vietnam War despite the disputed reactions of the American public towards it (Wagner-Pacifici and Schwartz 1991). Official commemorations are controlled by the dominant powers in society as they have the means and clout to occupy public space. These officially sanctioned constructions and representations of the past play out on a national stage, whereas vernacular memory is regional, ethnic and communal, therefore allowing for commemorations of alternative subjects and narratives, as well as alternative memorialising practices. Official memory to Bodnar (1993) is far from being a truthful presentation of the past. Instead it is shaped not

only by the present, but also by an anticipated future. As such, present dominant interpretations and representations of the past function to solidify and project the political status quo.

Vernacular memory forms and represents alternative and potentially opposing views, ‘counter-memories’ to the officially sanctioned images of the past. Although public memory is associated with knowledge and power, there is space available for movements deviating from dominant ideologies and general consensus. Leaning on Foucault, Zerubavel (1995) defines ‘countermemory’ as “essentially oppositional and stands in hostile subversive relation to collective memory” (Zerubavel 1995: 10). These oppositions manifest themselves in various forms, in alternative commemorative events (Zerubavel 1995, Vinitzky-Seroussi 2002) or theatrical performances, for example Boal’s (1979) *Invisible Theatre*, political performances in opposition to the oppressive state. More recently the travelling memorials/ exhibits *Arlington West* and *Eyes Wide Open* have blended the notion of alternative forms of public remembrance and performance art. *Arlington West*, first exhibited on a beach in Santa Barbara, CA in 2003, performs as a temporary cemetery at a public tourist location. Over 3000 white wooden crosses representing the casualties since the US invasion of Iraq²³ are installed in the sand, mimicking grave markers of a military cemetery, in order to entice reflections regarding the cost of war. *Eyes Wide Open* performs in a similar mode. First shown in Chicago, IL in 2004, the installation consists of over thirty pairs of combat boots and shoes representing the American soldiers who have died in action, as well as Iraqi civilians killed in the Iraq war. Both travelling memorials are examples of performed countermemory that present publically alternative narratives to the national framing of the war on terror.

Alternative viewpoints and oppositions to official narratives and versions can manifest in ‘counter-monuments’ which are deliberate diversions from traditional

²³ The invasion and subsequent war in Iraq (2003-2011, officially at least) was questionably justified as a direct response to 9/11 and George W. Bush declaration of war against international terror.

memorials and monuments by being made abstract and at times interactive rather than instructional representations of the past (Young 1994, 1997, 2000). Studying Holocaust memorials and monuments in Germany, Young shows how German artists confront the stigma of perpetrator through counter-monuments, defined as “brazen, painfully self-conscious memorial spaces conceived to challenge the very premise of the monument” (Young 2000: 6). These spaces are blatant rejections of traditional and facile memorialising structures that, artists fear, only result in the opposite effect: “instead of searing memory into public consciousness ... conventional memorials seal memory off from awareness altogether, instead of embodying memory, they ... only displace memory”. These structural expressions of remembrance reflect the fear that when “monuments do our memory-work for us, we become that much more forgetful” (Young 2000: 96, also see Nora 1996). ‘Anti-monuments’ follow a similar line. They are actions or performances that reject traditional modes of monuments for they are “something that represents power, or selects a piece of history and tries to materialize it, visualize it, represent it, always from the point of view of the elite” (Lozano-Hemmer 2002: 155-6). Instructional and elitist makers of official memory are concerned with notions of “social unity, the continuity of existing institutions, and loyalty to the status quo ... by promoting interpretations of the past and present reality that reduce power of competing interests that threaten the attainment of their goals” (Bodnar 1993: 13).

There are architectural exceptions, however. One such exception is the *Siegestor*, a triumphal arch in central Munich that was heavily damaged during the city’s bombardment in WWII. After a lengthy process of deliberation, it was decided to restore the monument only partially to its former state to serve as both a reminder and warning. Whereas the northern side was fully restored, the southern side was left incomplete. An inscription was added to the unfinished facade, stating: “Dem Sieg geweiht, vom Krieg zerstört, zum Frieden mahnend” (“dedicated to victory, destroyed by war, urging peace”), creating a Janus-faced *Mahnmal*, a German word with no linguistic equivalent in English, referring to a monument or memorial that is not merely dedicated to the past but urges caution for the future. To Rosenfeld (2000:

122), “the partial restoration of the *Siegestor* marked a rare victory for memory”, although he recognises that its effectiveness is debatable, especially when compared to anti-war monuments in other German cities. The monument does show, however, that a blending of political and vernacular interests can take root in prominent, public forums.

Wagner-Pacifici and Schwartz (1991) study memorialisation and commemorations of the Vietnam War and Vietnam War memorial in Washington D.C., both of which were and are controversial in popular memory.²⁴ They illustrate how

memorial devices are not self-created; they are conceived and built by those who wish to bring to consciousness the events and people that others are more inclined to forget. To understand memorial process in this way is to understand it as a construction process wherein competing ‘moral entrepreneurs’ seek public arenas and support for their interpretations of the past. These interpretations are embedded in the memorials’ symbolic structure. (Wagner-Pacifici and Schwartz 1991: 382)

Public remembering is created through a repeated representation of a past event, intentionally performed in commemorative rituals at and in memorial structures and so informs the present and the future. Liz Stanley (2006) proposes the concept of ‘post/memory’, or memory ‘after the fact’ (Stanley 2006). To Stanley, post/memory is artificially created through a reinterpretation and representation of supposed meanings of past events, which cannot be seen as isolated as they are influenced by pre- and post-event contexts. It “centres memory-making, the practices people engage in as they utilise aspects of the past to inform the present” (Stanley 2006: 29, emphasis in original). The notion goes hand in hand with forgetting as ‘facts’ are

²⁴ The Vietnam Memorial (1982) was designed by Maya Lin, whose minimalist and impressionist design contradicted expected norms of memorial architecture, as it was neither heroic and instructional, nor in traditional white (Bodnar 1993). The controversies surrounding the design were so severe that additional (instructive) elements were later added to the memorial complex: a statue of three soldier, a memorial plaque and an American flag, and later the Vietnam Women’s memorial.

shaped in order to establish particular versions of the past that are not ‘accurate’ but “convincing to the particular group of individuals ... whom it serves as explanation” (Elsner 1994: 226). As the past is constantly constructed and reconstructed, these versions and their reinterpretations can be many. Although public memory is often commodified by elite institutions who are both producers and constant circulators of ‘their’ interpretations and representations of the past (and so are ensuring the ubiquitousness of these versions (Pearson 1999)), vernacular alternative and counter expressions are indeed visible in the public sphere. In their publicness they are performances of remembrance. Before examining in more detail the relationship between public remembrance and performance, an overview of the concept of performance is appropriate.

2.2 Performance is Doing

In this thesis, performance is understood in the dramaturgical sense, performance as nuanced action and visual presentation. Schechner (1988a: 95) describes performance as “ritual-like behaviour” and defines it more specifically as “an activity done by an individual or group in the presence of another individual or group” (Schechner 1988a: 22). Performance to Schechner (2003: 38-9) holds seven overlapping and interacting functions: (1) to entertain, by which he means “something produced in order to please a public [although] what may please one audience may not please another” (Schechner 2003: 39); (2) to make something beautiful or aesthetically pleasing; (3) to mark or change identity; (4) to make or foster community; (5) to heal; (6) to teach, persuade or convince; and (7) to deal with the sacred and/ or the demonic. These functions not only correspond to action verbs but also reference the ‘ritual-like’ nature of performance, which is able to “bend time, reshape and adorn the body, and tell stories” (Schechner 2003: 22). Schechner (2003) identifies several areas where performance theory and the social sciences collide, such as performance in everyday life (including gatherings of all kinds), the structures of ritual, play and public behaviours and various modes of communication.

The terms used by Schechner, performance and behaviours in everyday life, brings to mind Erving Goffman (1990) and his formative work *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* in which he proposes dramaturgical concepts of theatre to gain an understanding of social performances and the representations of self. He examines how social performances are recognised and function within a society. To Goffman performance encompasses “all the activity of an individual which occurs during a period marked by his [sic] continuous presence before a particular set of observers and which has some influence on the observers” (Goffman 1990: 32). In this, he suggests that they are dependent on time, place, audience and context, and actors adapt accordingly. Performances define social situations and situations define social performances. Larsen (2005: 421) acknowledges the adaptability of social actors, defining performances as “day-to-day cultural improvisations before an audience”. Appropriate ‘masks’, props, costumes etc. are put on and are readily available for any situation, or socio-cultural scripts. Social encounters, occurring within larger structural and cultural units (Goffman 1983),

are embedded in gatherings which assemble individuals in space; gatherings are in turn, embedded within a more inclusive social occasion composed of fixed equipment, distinctive cultural ethos, program and agenda, rules of proper and improper conduct, and pre-established sequences of activities. (Turner and Stets 2005: 28)

Tracing the semantics of the word, States (2001) points out that performance is a noun of process. Although the term has been stretched to encompass an array of activities, the fundamental quality of performance as process has remained. A performance is neither a static nor finished product, but rather “always in-process, changing, growing and moving through time” (Bial 2004: 215), adjectives rather reminiscent of public remembering discussed above. The approaches to performance put forth here imply recognisability of actions and interactions (to ensure successful performance), as well as a specific ‘frame’ in which performances occur. A performance has a marked beginning and end, and occurs in a specific temporal and

spatial setting. The activity of the performance process is bound to this setting, and accordingly is framed as occurring in the *now*.

The matter of *nowness* or *liveness* of performance is somewhat uncertain. According to Peggy Phelan (1993: 146), “performance’s only life is in the present. Performance cannot be saved, recorded, documented, or otherwise participate in the circulation of representations of representations: once it does so, it becomes something other than performance”. Based on this statement, performance “becomes itself through disappearance”, is ephemeral (Phelan 1993: 146). Although a common theoretical foundation, this ephemerality is debated amongst scholars as this approach “forecloses consideration of the ways that performance endures in cultural and individual imaginaries and how, as a result, aspects of its form persist in time” (Foster 2011: 4, also see States 2001, Schneider 2001, Taylor 2003, 2016). Rebecca Schneider provides useful arguments against the ephemeral stance. In her essay ‘Performance Remains’ (2001) Schneider dissects the seemingly incompatible nature of performance commonly understood as ephemeral and fleeting, that “which seems to resist remains”, and the western understanding of archive as lasting and durable. “According to the logic of archive, performance is that which does *not* remain” (Schneider 2001: 100, emphasis added). Challenging Phelan’s definition of performance as characterised by, and becoming through disappearance, Schneider demonstrates that performance (which is a mode of transmission) does not vanish but leaves behind traces; indeed the archive is engaged in a performance itself. In examples dealing with embodied practices, such as Civil War (re)enactments or religious rituals in which acts and gestures are repeated again and again this leaving of residue is quite prevalent:

When we approach performance not as that which disappears (as the archive expects), but both as act of remaining and a means of reappearance (though not a metaphysics of presence) we almost immediately are forced to admit that remains do not have to be isolated in the document, to the object, to bone vs flesh ... In this sense performance becomes itself through messy and eruptive reappearance challenging, via the performative trace, any neat anatomy between

appearance and disappearance, or presence and absence – the ritual repetitions that mark performance as simultaneously indiscreet, non-original, relentlessly citational, and remaining. (Schneider 2001: 103)

This is reminiscent of Schechner's (1988a, 2003) proposal that performance is 'restored behaviour' or 'twice-behaved behaviour', which asserts that all physical and verbal actions are strips of (re)enacted, repeated and recognisable behaviours "that people train to do, that they practice and rehearse" (Schechner 2003: 22; also see Goffman 1990). For Schechner, this is true for any performance, be it on stage or screen, organisational productivity, in rituals, sports, or in the social world. Similar observations are put forth by Taylor (2003, 2016), who understands performance as a recognisable and "ongoing repertoire of gestures and behaviours that get re-enacted or reactivated again and again" (Taylor 2016: 9-10). The repertoire, Taylor states,

enacts embodied memory: performances, gestures, orality, movement, dance, singing - in short, all those acts usually thought of as ephemeral, non reproducible knowledge... [it] requires presence: people participate in the production and reproduction of knowledge by 'being there,' being a part of the transmission. As opposed to the supposedly stable objects in the archive, the actions that are the repertoire do not remain the same. (Taylor 2003: 20)

Taylor likens performance to hauntology, or ghosting, noting that performance is a "visualisation that continues to act ... even as it exceeds the live" (Taylor 2003: 146). Furthermore, it is both process and product, which leads to a dynamic tension between opposing forces central to any performative act. "Performance" to Taylor (2016: 41) is "a doing, a done, and a redoing. It makes visible, and invisible; it clarifies and obscures; it's ephemeral and lasting; put-on, yet truer than life itself".

This visibility of performance relies on recognisable bodily actions accessible in/through the repertoire (Taylor 2003). The repertoire enacts embodied memory. It

requires presence, as it is lived experience in the moment, as well as the presence of others. Before moving towards the audience, the essential component of any performance, the matter of performativity should be taken up briefly. Performativity and the performative is a wide-ranging concept used in various disciplines and applications. Accordingly, it “has hardly come to mean the same thing for each” (Parker and Sedgwick 1995: 2). Austin (1962), for example locates the performative in language, speech acts and utterances, which is performed action. Derrida (1988) highlights the processes of repetition in performative utterances, and the importance of citationality and iterability these processes entail. Meaning then

is not singular, original, or locatable. Meaning is not owned by the speaker, the spectator, or even the circumstance. Meaning – and all and every meaning is contingent, temporary – is created in process through the complex interaction of all speakers – players – and their specific personal-cultural circumstance. (Schechner 2003: 125)

Described here is the sociology of the performative. Butler applies performativity to gender, which she views as a process and product of socialisation. “Gender reality”, to Butler (1988: 528) “is created through sustained social performances”. Accordingly, gender performing relies on normativity, citationality and repetition:

The act that one does, the act that one performs, is, in a sense, an act that has been going on before one arrived on the scene. Hence, gender is an act which has been rehearsed, much as a script survives the particular actors who make use of it, but which requires individual actors in order to be actualized and reproduced as reality once again. (Butler 1988: 562)

Taylor (2003) is critical of both Austin (1962) and Butler’s understandings of performativity, which both situate the performative in the dominion of discursive expression rather than “a quality (or adjective) of performance” (Taylor 2003: 6). Attempting to widen the performative scope towards the nondiscursive forms of performance, Taylor suggests the alternative term ‘performatic’ “to denote the

adjectival form of the nondiscursive realm of performance” (Taylor 2003: 6). For the purposes of this research my understanding of the ‘performative’ leans more towards Taylor’s ‘performativ’ (rather than Butler or Austin’s) as it acknowledges the (bodily) actions involved in the doing of public memory. At the same time the socialising, interactive and discursive processes of the concept ought not to be dismissed as they do indeed co-exist. Hence, when using the term performative in this thesis it is to indicate something that is “like a performance” (Schechner 2003: 110), and involving actors, costumes, props, purposes, scripts, stages, interactions and an audience (Denzin 2003).

Performance relies on a relationship between performer and audience; indeed the audience is a crucial aspect of any performance (Goffman 1990, Carlson 1996), a notion that speaks much to the social and interactive aspects of performance. Without an audience there is no performance, as, referring back to Schechner (1988a: 22), performance is “an activity done by an individual or group in the presence of another individual or group”. Marvin Carlson (1996: 5-6) adds that “performance is always performance *for* someone, some audience that recognises and validates it as performance even when, as occasionally the case, the audience is the self”.

According to Bauman (1984: 11), performance is “a mode of spoken verbal communication [that] consists in the assumption of responsibility to an audience or a display of communicative competence”. In a performance situation, the audience agrees to listen and watch for an extended period of time, so granting the performer/s space and time during which normal patterns of communicative turn-taking are suspended. At the same time “spectatorship is a fluid process” (Landsberg 2009: 224), one in which an audience is actively engaged in an interpretative meaning making process. Critical understanding of the role of the audience in theatrical productions (stage and screen) has evolved from a message receiver to a meaning co-creator (Barthes 1977, Boal 1979, Hall 1980). At first, an emphasis on the author went hand-in-hand with morality plays. The onus fell on the audience member to

understand the intended message. In contemporary theory, the production is a patchwork of signs read separately and actively by each audience member. The importance lies not only in the image itself, but also how it is viewed (Barthes 1977, Sturken and Cartwright 2001). Fiske (1994) uses the term *audiencing* to describe how each audience member reacts differently to visual images depending on the specific circumstance in which it is viewed. Messages must be received in order to function, and it is the recipients of the messages who have to make sense of the transmitted information. Texts (and an audience's response to texts) are not merely accepted by the viewer but are interpreted through the lens of one's own personal background and experiences. Meaning therefore is not embedded in the text but is created through interplay between text and reader/ viewer of that text (Jauss 1982, Hall 1980), as well as between actor and audience, who to Goffman (1990) are indeed co-participants in the observed performance.

Viewers make meaning. Boal (1979) examines how the audience does so, coining the term 'spect-actors' to describe how the audience is actively moulding 'reality' by performing and making meaning themselves. The term gives the audience agency and attributes meaning making abilities in a similar way as Bodnar (1993) does in his acknowledgment of official and vernacular sectors of public remembering. Although there is an intended, and possibly even stipulated message, an audience has the capability and freedom to interpret and make sense of the witnessed performance, are agentic and "emancipated spectators" (Rancière 2007). The spectator plays a critical role in determining both meaning and significance of a performance. Indeed, performance "survives only in the encounter and re-encounter of the spectator" (States 2001: 72). Because they have agency, audiences contribute to a performance. In the context of this thesis, agentic audiences contribute to the performing, making and (re)making of both official and vernacular public memory of 9/11 which is performed in the present, and determined by social, spatial and temporal contexts.

2.3 Public Remembrance is Performed

According to Richard Schechner (2003: 2, 32) “there is no cultural or historical limit to what is or is not performance ... Any behaviour, event, action, or thing can be studied “as” performance, can be analysed in terms of doing, behaving and showing” (also see Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1999). The concept of performance can be understood in various ways: culturally in terms of artistic or political spectacles, sometimes associated with a notion of ‘play’ or ‘pretend’, technologically as ways to measure technological output, or organisationally referring to the productivity in the workplace (McKenzie 2001). These different approaches all suggest that a performance involves a process. “Performance is a mode of behavior, an approach to experience”, Schechner and McNamara state in the *General Introduction to Performance Studies Series*. “To perform is thus to complete a more or less involved process rather than to do a single deed or act” (Turner 1982: 91); it refers to doings in the moment.

In regards to the public performances of remembrance and past trauma, the presentations of ‘memory’ are often “conveyed and sustained by ritual performances or commemorations [and the] regular, formalised re-enactments in these commemorations makes an effective mnemonic device” (Falgout, Poyer and Carucci 2008: 25). The ceremonial farewell to Ground Zero discussed at the beginning of this chapter makes evident the performed nature of commemorative acts. The pre-meditated pomp and circumstance of the day was carefully rehearsed and staged by political ‘memory agents’²⁵ (Vinitzky-Seroussi 2002; Alexander (2004) and Wagner-Pacifi (1996) call them ‘carrier groups’, and ‘moral entrepreneurs’ respectively), and performed for a receiving public both on local and national stages. The symbolic act of remembrance (a funeral procession for an empty coffin and an artefact, followed by a parade of recovery workers) was immensely theatrical. The anniversary ritual of reading out loud the names of the dead each year at Ground Zero, too, is a public (and official) performance of remembrance, a staged affair

²⁵ Events are made significant through narrative, representation and discourse brought into the public by memory agents who usually have an interest in the creation of public memory and commemorative master narrative. Consequently they act in accord with their own interests.

distributed to a large international audience. As official events, these ceremonies highlight the close relationship between public remembrance and performance, both of which are socially and culturally constructed. It is the 'now' wherein lies the power of national commemorative spectacle (Becker and Lentz 2013), which concurs with a presentist assumption of collective memory discussed above, one that understands public remembrance as a social construction, a shaping of the past influenced by the present and for present and projected future purposes (Wagner-Pacifi and Schwartz 1991, Halbwachs 1992, Bodnar 1993). This line of thought further makes evident the overlapping concepts that both remembrance, an activity and doing in the now, and performance, also an activity and doing in the now, are often guided by some form of intent or strategy.

Of course not all commemorative acts are dedicated to the memory of collective trauma and mourning. National Days, days of independence, birthdays of national figures or national holidays all provide occasions for official commemorative festivities, breaking daily routines and so signalling the importance of the collective event (Dayan and Katz 1992, Zerubavel 1981). Large commemorative national day ceremonies are an effective component of nation-building (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983, Anderson 1991). Looking at nationalism in post-colonial African states through a performative lens Becker and Lentz (2013) show how celebrations of independence and national days are not only "condensed moments of nation-building, but also of state-making" (Becker and Lentz 2013: 1). These commemorations actively encourage and invite audiences to participate in the national remembrance, and to (re)enact (invented) national traditions and histories. The larger, and certainly more visible component of the performed festivities is of official capacity: rallying speeches and addresses to the nation, extravagant parades, splendid fireworks, elaborate dance routines or solemn wreath-laying ceremonies are all "organised by the incumbent governments ... not only [staging] the state and its symbols, but also aimed at legitimising the current regime and its accomplishments" (Becker and Lentz 2013: 1). Such reoccurring public commemorations contribute to the creation and (re)creation of 'national imaginaries' through an "intricate

orchestration of the events and the choreography of individual performances demonstrate the state's regulatory power" (Becker and Lentz 2013: 2-3). Becker and Lentz see the success of such grand commemorative acts and the imagination of a national community in their performative nature, which by definition is tied to the present: "it is performance, generated in the moment of production, that allows people to believe that the national imaginary is real" (Becker and Lentz 2013: 5). They go on to argue that it is through the coproduction between producing performers and active audiences that these performances become persuasive. What Becker and Lentz describe coincides with the presentist approach to remembrance and further highlights the active processes involved. The representative staging and (re)enactment of a perceived/imagined past "becomes real in the moment of the performance" (Becker and Lentz 2013: 5). Implied here is the notion of transmission, which sits at the core of a performance interaction.

In terms of performed transmission of remembrance, a note should be taken of the different types and forms these performances can take. They can be physical in terms of structures or objects, or concern bodily expressions. Nora (1989: 9) points out that "memory takes root in the concrete, in spaces, gestures, images, and objects" which are the ultimate embodiments of a memorial consciousness. He goes on to explain that museums, monuments, cemeteries, festivals, anniversaries, etc. are mere "illusions of eternity" (Nora 1989: 12) as these objects are just that: objects. Memory markers are only successful if meaning is maintained, which over time becomes more and more difficult to do. Although Nora does not speak of performance per se, he implies the certain essential components of performance as outlined above: a process of transmission (an interaction), in a specific time and place (a setting and stage), the involvement of bodily action, materialities (objects, props and costumes) and the requirement of an audience. It is these aspects of performance (of remembrance) I want to highlight in the following pages.

Setting and stage

Memorials may be personal expressions of grief (e.g. a shrine), or public symbols of state mourning (e.g. national memorials and monuments). They can be spontaneous, as was the case with 9/11 memorial fences, covered with missing persons flyers, flowers, flags etc., or planned on both local and national scales. Young (1993) argues that public memory can only gain its function with the erection of physical constructions and commemorative ceremonies that often take place within or around these built structures. Both memorial spaces and commemorative services are performed acts of public remembrance. Space and remembrance are tightly connected, and in their publicness are always political as “public monuments do not arise as if by natural law to celebrate the deserving: they are built by people with sufficient power to marshal (or impose) public consent for their erection” (Savage 1994: 135).

Collective memory is “never formless”, and indeed needs “textured and three-dimensional forms [that] embody the memory in a socially recognizable way” (Wagner-Pacific 1996: 302). It is in their physical forms that memories are able to communicate through time and perform their function as transmitters of certain remembrances associated with these structures. They are embodied (re)presentations, physical forms of memory that (en)act, translate and communicate the content of collective memory to a receiving public (Wagner-Pacifici 1996). The built environments serve as benchmarks localising visibly the commemorated event, its time and place. Young (2000) defines monuments and memorials as cultural and aesthetic forms at which public art and political memory meet. They are reflections of the socio-political contexts and aesthetic penchants in which they were created (Young 2000: 95). However, as all artefacts, they are malleable, are consumed, interpreted and reinterpreted by audiences influenced by their own aesthetics, temporal, spatial and socio-political frameworks.

Commemorative acts, including the building of memory spaces and the leaving of memory objects, are public transmitters of remembrance and aid its maintenance, yet they also carry the burden of time. The passing of time inevitably brings with it a change in meaning of passed events, of spaces and of old memories as they are replaced with new meanings attributed to them by new generations and new narratives. Issues of temporality are imminent as “memory as re-presentation, as making present, is always in danger of collapsing the constitutive tension between past and present” (Huyssen 2003: 10). Places of memory are physical representations of the past. Yet they are also filled with absences because both public remembrance and the meaning of a place are social constructs framed by dominant discourses of particular contexts. There is a palimpsestic character, particularly to urban spaces. What is now the National September 11 Memorial and Museum was Ground Zero ten years ago. Before that it was the World Trade Centre, and before that Radio Row²⁶, and so on and so forth. Huyssen (2003) points out that “memories of what there was before [are] imagined alternatives to what there is. The strong marks of present space merge in the imaginary with traces of the past, erasure, losses, and heterotopias” (Huyssen 2003: 7). The palimpsest overlapping of the event incorporates the *was*, the *is*, and the *yet to be* and so reflects the temporal interrelations.

Public remembrances are

the process through which different collectives ... engage in acts of remembrance together. [However] when such people lose interest, or time, or for any reason cease to act; when they move away, or die, then the collective memory dissolves, and so do collective acts of remembrance. (Winter 2006: 4; also see Nora 1996 and Assmann 1999)

²⁶ Before the Twin Towers could be built, hundreds of warehouses, buildings, businesses and homes were demolished and residents displaced. An entire district, Radio Row, was flattened between 1965 and 1966 in order to make space for two 110-story high office buildings spanning several city blocks (Gillespie 1999). The Twins hovered over Manhattan for 28 years before they too vanished and needed to be replaced. Whereas their demolition happened suddenly in a traumatic, and in the United States unprecedented act of violence, Radio Row disappeared for the sake of urban ‘progress’ and economic growth. Though one could probably argue that for the habitants of the neighbourhood the displacement was no less traumatic. Their stories along with Radio Row has largely been forgotten, replaced with the story of the fall of the Twin Towers.

If stories about the past are no longer performed they ultimately become inert (Olick and Robbins 1998), which to Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi and Levy (2011) is the problem of collective memory: it “arises in a particular time and a particular place (which is not to say there are no other versions of the problem elsewhere), namely where collective identity is no longer as obvious where it once was” (Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi and Levy 2011: 8). In the process, they may be replaced or ‘over-written’ by new stories that speak more directly to current concerns and are more relevant to current identity formations (Irwin-Zarecka 1994). Eventually, “give or take a few centuries, and the battlefields will be ordinary meadows; the memorials insisting on the reality of the deaths that took place will become illegible and crumble away” (Hodgkin and Radstone 2003: 12). Bruce Kapferer (2012) is less dire in his predictions when he argues that commemorative events are ritualised performances for the purpose of transition and transformation. Looking at Sinhalese and Australian nationalism in relation to ritualistic and commemorative practices, he contends that these rites (Sri Lankan healing rites) and ceremonies (Anzac Day celebrations) are essential for the formation and construction of a society or community and their shared remembering, despite their specific content. Kapferer acknowledges the workings of time and that rites and commemorations (their meaning, structure and performance) may be altered. He illustrates this point himself: in the new and revised edition of his book published twenty-four years later, he points out that Anzac day is no longer the core symbol of white Australian nationalism that it was in 1988.

What is required to preserve public memories for long period of times is an interplay between performative places and performative practices. Public remembering is an integral part of group memory and is dependent on places, stages, and setting, as well as bodies (en)acting public memory. Commemorations are “powerful performative devices which contribute to the collective imagination of the past” (Cossu 2010: 40). The setting (time and space) in which they are staged frames story, or scripts the remembrance that is performed. “Commemoration cannot be accomplished by representations alone, however accurate or adept or dramatic they may be” (Casey

2011: 186). It is in the bodily activity of participation that its true function can be fulfilled. Commemoration “is not separable ... from body memory – or from place memory either ... all remembering has a commemorative component” (Casey 2011: 186-7). However, it is in commemorative ceremonies that remembering is intensified. Before addressing remembering that entails bodily gestures, I want to briefly address the things remembering bodies carry: the materials, props and costumes that are part of the performance of public memory.

Objects, props and costumes

Memorials are not only places, or stages, but also objects of remembrance giving the illusion of permanence through their physical form. Not all memorialising artefacts are permanent structures in a land- or cityscape. Objects may be small or loose items of recollective significance. Griswold (1987: 4) defines commemorative objects as “shared significance embodied in form”. In that they hold a social function. Monuments and artefacts are mnemonic markers which aid the creation of a shared memory through the activity of remembering within current social contexts. Immediately after the terror attacks of 11 September 2001, people at the crash sites began to build spontaneous memorials by leaving objects. Photographs, flowers, candles, flags, banners and prayers, t-shirts and baseball caps, buttons and other miscellaneous items were hung up on fences or left in streets and parks in proximity of the sites. Elisabeth Greenspan (2013) attributes the immense amount of memory objects left near Ground Zero, which continued for months following the attack, to the general public’s attempt to (re)claim power over the site, whereas Sturken (2007) sees these public expressions as a (re)claiming of personhood of the dead, an act of individualisation countering the abstract number of casualties. Meyer and Woodthorpe (2008: 1.1), in their examination of materiality in two distinct places of memory, cemeteries and museums, point out that objects in memory spaces “are made meaningful through the expectations associated with their separation from everyday society; and visitors’ practices are organised through a mixture of specific rules and spoken and unspoken norms of behaviour”. What these expressions have in common is that they are performative acts occurring in the public sphere.

Maddrell (2013) identifies memory objects as graves, flowers, photographs, roadside shrines, but also memorials which are memory objects permanently tied to a specific location. I agree that memorials are objects of memory, but they are not the same, especially regarding official memorial sites. There is a personal quality about objects left at a particular public location, a story and relationship attached that is recognizable to only a few, although interpreted by many. While memory objects are private, personal and active (as in the ritual act of leaving something belonging to someone absent), official memorials are public, collective and passive. Hallman and Hockey (2001) point to the private nature of objects. They argue that material memory objects represent an important bond between the living and the deceased, as “past-presence and present absence are condensed into a spatially located object” (Hallman and Hockey 2001: 85). Miles Richardson (2001) discusses the act of leaving objects at shrines, memorials and gravesites and argues that the act of leaving items marks locations as public places of death. To him, the artefacts are symbols, concrete objects, that prove physically that someone has been at a particular site, that someone has been present. Moreover, the items are left in memory of someone or something, therefore signifying that someone or something is not there anymore, is absent. Memory objects then are filling the void, are signifying a ‘presence of absence’. To Richardson, “presence in the face of absence turns us from a factual given, from simply being here as objects occupying space, into a gift”, the gift of presence (Richardson 2001: 264). Maddrell (2013) explores the expression of absence and absence-presence through material objects and in landscapes that serve as public markers of private grief. She considers memory objects as ‘linking objects’ that serve as a manifestation of a continuous bond between the living and the dead:

the social reach of absence through the presence of markers of that absence and associated rituals of absence-presence, i.e. indicative of the social agency of memorials, and their potential for evoking emotional and affective responses in others as well as a sense of continuing bonds for the bereaved ... absence-presence is expressed through a combination of representational spaces and material forms as well as embodied practices and emotional performances. (Maddrell 2013: 510-511, 517)

This connects with Hallman and Hockey's (2001) work, which recognises places of memorialisation as expressions of continuous social bonds with those who are no more. In Winter's (2006: 279) words the act of "remembrance is an act of symbolic exchange between those who remain and those who suffered and died". These bonds and exchanges are public expressions and are therefore a performance, so too is the act of leaving objects. That is because "presence requires another" (Richardson 2001: 265) which illuminates both the collective quality of the act of leaving tokens at memorial sites and the necessity of an audience. Even if an item is left in solitude it will remain there, becoming a public artefact. The object will most likely be seen and contemplated about by others who come to remember absence by giving their gift of presence. The experience therefore is a shared one.

When speaking of objects of remembrance, we must also include items not only taken to and left at memorial places, but also those carried on the body, adorning signifiers inscribing the person as a moving memorial. Human beings, to Waskul and Vannini (2006: 3) are "active and creative agents [who exist] in a human world that both shapes the doings of people and is fashioned by the doings of people" which are bodily communicated (performed) in actions and interactions. These actions can be a repertoire of gestures or postures determined by social scripts, emotive expressions, as well as bodily adornments or inscriptions such as buttons, caps, and team shirts. To Diasio (2013: 390), "the body is the medium for the subject's experience", and is inscribed with meaning (Waskul and van der Riet 2002). Bodily adornments are performative in nature, signifying associations, loyalties, solidarity, allegiances and so much more. In regards to public remembrance, they are "travelling memorials [...] which carry their message of remembering through both landscape and society" (Maddrell 2013: 502).

To Turner (1982, 1988), performance is synonymous with experience, which implies the involvement of the body. Scholars have been keen to reconcile bodily experiences and public remembering, but oftentimes the focus is on individual bodies as opposed to collective patterns (see Cole 2006, Diasio 2013, Harrison 2004). In *How Societies Remember* (1989), Connerton draws attention to the important relationship between the body and public remembrance, arguing against a sole attention on inscribed transmissions of memory (also see Taylor 2003) and suggesting a focus on embodied practices. Recollections of the past are conveyed and sustained through the (en)actment of ritual performances, leading him to conclude that performative memory is bodily. Indeed, bodily social memory is essential in the transmission of public remembrance. To Connerton (1989: 4) “images of the past and recollected knowledge of the past are conveyed and sustained through ritual performances and that performative memory is bodily”. He distinguishes between *inscribed* and *incorporated* (embodied) memory. Inscribed memory refers to cultural and material texts (e.g. monuments and memorials), while embodied memory describes what is transmitted by and through peoples’ co-bodily interactions, for example in commemorative rituals or corporal practices such as gestures or movements, indicating concepts of a socially constructed body. Agreeing with Halbwachs (1992), Connerton stresses that collective remembering is a social and cultural construct as well as a social activity; it entails an active involvement of the body. Connerton’s rigid distinction between inscribed and embodied remembering seems problematic, however. Inscription and embodiment are not separate entities but exist in a close relationship; they are co-producers (and co-re-producers) of public remembrance because social bodies are always inscribed. As such, they serve as active transmitters of the past in the present, and just like places of remembrance and material markers, are essential elements in the transmission and maintaining of a public memory over time.

Requirements for a successful performance of remembrance over time are structure and repetition, which includes performed acts of remembrance to be introduced into

the collective (Assmann 1988). Cultural memory is bound to a certain formality, organisation and discipline as traditions and ritual practices must be repeated again and again to manifest themselves in commemorative ceremonies and festivities (Assmann 2008, Zerubavel 1996, Vinitzky-Seroussi 2002). As with any performance, it requires embodied actions in rites and commemorations, ‘motor mechanisms,’ that ensure that memories are not forgotten. In linking the structure of ceremonial rites to group memory, Bastide (1978: 245) describes ceremonies as theatrical spectacles

in which each actor has certain lines to speak and certain actions to perform. But these lines make sense only within the total dialogue; the actions acquire significance only when they connect with those of the other actors. Social continuity depends on structural continuity.

Furthermore, building on Halbwachs’ (1992) theories on localised and material memory markers, Bastide agrees that memories need physical objects or landscapes in order to sustain the passage of time. However, it is through embodied and performed actions revolving in and around these markers that collective memory is maintained.

“Actions transmit memories as they transmit skills ... ritual actions [of commemoration] are re-enactments of the past, acts of memory, but they are also attempts to impose interpretations of the past, to shape memory. They are in every sense collective representations” (Burke 2011: 190). Ritual constitutes a stepping out of real life into a temporary sphere of activity with a disposition all of its own (limitation of time) and takes place in a marked location. It is a “stereotyped sequence of activities involving gestures, words, and objects, performed in a sequestered place” (Turner 1977: 183). Schechner (1988b: 7) synonymises performance and ritual as “performance has at its core a ritual action”, and his (2003) seven functions of performance (to entertain, to make beautiful, to mark/ change

identity, to make/ foster community, to heal, to teach/ persuade/ convince and to deal with the sacred/ demonic) clearly reflect this approach.

The performative aspect of ritual has been widely explored (see Turner 1979, 1980, 1982, 1988, Schechner 1973, 1974, 1988a, Tambiah 1979, Rawl 2001). Miles Richardson (2001) touches upon the relationship between the ritual of leaving memory objects, sites of memory and embodiment, arguing that “presence is the immediate, face-to-face, muscular experience of the body” (Richardson 2001: 264). To Bellah (2005: 185), “social enactment is a primary factor in ritual”. Tambiah (1979) points out the dual nature of ritual performances: public ritual produces in its repeated enactments certain seemingly invariant sequences, yet nevertheless rituals are affected to variable features, such as social characteristics and circumstances in attendance, audience interest, economic expenditure etc. This means that rituals are always linked to status claims and interests of the participants and therefore are always open to contextual meanings. Collective ceremony can be conceptualised as a container or a vessel which gives form and meaning to what it contains (Moore and Meyerhoff 1977).

Durkheim (2008 [1915]) describes rituals as both mimetic and poetic, as particular modes of action which are symbolic and so indicate the importance of a collective interplay between performance and audience. The celebration of rituals in the present marks time in a way that ritual becomes an event in its own terms: it is detached from ordinary life and transformative of social relations. In ceremonies, the past is “represented for mere sake of representing it and fixing it more firmly in the mind” (Durkheim 2008 [1915]: 376). The performance of commemorative rituals deals with the establishment of a relationship between the past and the present which is mediated by the dramatic performance of the theatrics of the ritual. Religious rituals are shared practices linking the past to the present (and in their repetition make sure they are not forgotten). They act as transmitters and confirmations of a group’s beliefs, norms, values and morals, so strengthening the group’s collective bond,

identity and solidarity; they are therefore inherently social. Rituals can be a potent moral force and are performed to keep the moral order of society. Durkheim frames his observations in religion, yet as Bellah (1967) demonstrates, ideas about symbols and religious ritual can be applied to secular rituals, highlighting that any group may possess a religious dimension in which a system of sacred beliefs and practices will unite all those who share them onto one community. Civil religion functions symbolically, through ‘sacred’ (secular) texts, places, rites and figures, and so negotiates national unity. Feldman (2002), studying the ritual of young Israelis visiting Poland in commemoration of the Shoah, argues that these visits are indeed secular pilgrimages that are central rites and parts of Jewish civil religion. To her,

the objective of civil religion is the sanctification of the society in which it functions, and it can be successful insofar as the individual fuses identity with that of the collective. The three main objectives of civil religion are integration (uniting society through common ceremonies and myths), legitimatization (causing the social order and its goals to seem natural) and mobilisation (arousing the energies of society in pursuit of the approved goals and tasks). (Feldman 2002: 85)

Civil religion is reinforced through a series of institutionalised practises, solidifying a sense of unity and solidarity in the society it serves. This is reminiscent of Durkheim in arguing that rituals instil and (re)instil meaning and consistency in social groups or communities. The construction of a community, invented or not, is a shared and social process. A community is not necessarily limited by geographical boundaries and can be ‘imagined’ (Anderson 1991). One can belong to, and identify with a community despite actual proximity or familiarity with members of that particular group, for example a nation, which to Anderson is an imagined political community, but also gender or sports affiliations, or a community of mourners united after collective tragedy. The notions of ‘shared’ and ‘imagined’ are particularly interesting when thinking about public remembering, as communities, imagined or not, are held together by a sense of shared identity, beliefs and norms obtained and maintained through narratives and practices, which according to Durkheim (2008 [1915]) link

the past and present, so creating cohesion. When events of collective impact are publically commemorated, for example the death and funeral of Princess Diana, the community of mourners become members of an imagined community. Upon Lady Diana's death in 1997, public outpour of grief and media frenzy reached an unprecedented scale. Masses of spectators gathered in public places to express their sorrows with flowers, candles and more. On the day of her funeral, thousands flocked to the streets to witness the procession in person, and millions more watched the spectacle on television or followed the media coverage across the globe (Johnson 1999, Kear and Steinberg 1999). Strangers came together, both physically and psychically, united in their shared grief for a person many did not know, so performing and becoming loyal members of an imagined community.

It should be noted that commemorative ritual can inspire solidarity despite a lack of ideological consensus. Oftentimes this is overshadowed, but not necessarily erased, by dominant (invented) discourses, traditions and rituals (see Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983) because when "we look at manipulations [we] fail to see that both powerful and weak are within constructed tradition" (Kapferer 2012: 211). Commemorative ceremonies of 9/11 are performances of state mourning (which actively involve 'real-life' mourners – family members of the victims of the attacks), staged spectacles that are rehearsed, produced and performed for a worldwide audience. Organised by an official government approved body, the dramatized spectacle of publicly commemorating and memorialising reinforces a particular version of the past (Abrams 2010). For Kenneth Burke (1974), human motivation is driven by conscious and unconscious persuasive strategies, and parts are played to fulfil objectives. This notion applies to the actors playing in the ceremonial staging as well as to the audience, as each performance is directly and uniquely informed by the spectators. Brown (2012) explores a popular element of commemorative ceremonies: ritualised two-minute public silences, which he calls 'social technologies'. He points out that

in the years following the First World War, every European nation explored ways of publicly marking the colossal loss of life in the social changes that resulted, typically through ritual and monumental architecture. Armistice Day and the

associated two minute silence were one such means adopted.
(Brown 2012: 236)

However, technological mediatisation of versions of commemorative rituals work against public remembering, as it “effectively disposes of those it is supposed to commemorate and makes of silence a spectacle where participants are absorbed in their own enactment of empathy and sorrow” (Brown 2012: 236). Furthermore, shared rituals inspire a collective sense of effervescence that transforms individuals into a united, sacred group that remembers together their collective imagined past. Effervescence denotes heightened emotions, which in turn play an essential part in the processes of remembering and performance. “The more an event provokes an emotion, the more it elicits social sharing and distinctly vivid, precise, concrete, long-lasting memories of the event” (Misztal 2003: 125).

Interaction, emotion and audiences

Performance and ritual are closely related, so are performance and emotion. Jonathan Turner and Jan Stets (2005) describe emotions as the glue that binds people and social structures – or challenges and tears them down. Emotions are constructed and conditioned by social structures and contexts (Burkitt 2009), their meanings culturally and socially constructed, mediated and understood. “As collective representations, emotions and tendencies are caused not by certain states of the consciousness of individuals but by the conditions in which the social group in its totality is placed” (Durkheim 1982: V). The immense amount of loss felt by many after the 9/11 terror attacks aroused a public emotional response. Many people suffered personal loss, loss of human life but also of material and internal nature, such as homes, employment or senses of security. In the aftermath of the attacks grief was experienced and expressed on a massive scale. Grief, Elias (1991: 199) defines, is “an emotional response to loss”, a process, an activity. It is “the pain and suffering experienced after loss; mourning is a period of time during which signs of grief are made visible” (Small 2001: 20). Mourning also is a process but concerns

adjustment and the expression of grief within socially determined and shared practices and formal rituals. Furthermore, mourning is performative, a bodily act, which is socially determined and dictates what emotions are appropriate for a particular situation and how they are, or should be, expressed. “Mourning is, by its nature, theatrical” writes Gail Holst-Warhaft (2000: 1), who goes on to describe “grief as an emotional state most of us experience at some point in our lives. How we display that grief, how we act it out in public, or how others act it out for us is what mourning and its rituals are about”.

Heightened emotions such as grief arouse passion (Holt-Warhaft 2000). In *Poetics*, Aristotle (1996) identifies mimesis (imitation) as the starting point for all acts of performance. He reasons that it is human nature to imitate actions; it plays a factor in babies’ learning, etc. Tragedy imitates life through the representation of character, action, objects and emotions, the latter potentially leading to catharsis (a state of emotional purification or transformation) in the audience. Indeed, Aristotle asserts, it is the function of theatre to arouse and purge emotional responses in the audience (and possibly the actors) to transform the extremes of emotions into virtuous habits. Empathy, for example, “is constructed out of mimesis, [it] is not emotional self-pitying identification with victims, but a way of both feeling for, while feeling different from, the subject of inquiry” (Landsberg 1997: 82). Mimesis is both a copying and imitation of a likeness, “a palpable, sensuous, connection between the very body of the perceiver and the perceived” (Taussig 1993: 21). More recently, with the discovery of mirror neurons, the concept has been demonstrated on a neurobiological level. Mirror neurons are fibres in the brain which trigger the mirroring of observed behaviour. Speculating on the evolutionary implications of mirror-neuron activity, Gallese (2001) argues that the ability to sense the physical actions of those around us forms the basis of which socialization and the experience of the social takes place. Witnessing strong emotions then causes a similar response, as the simulation of others’ actions establishes an emphatic connection among humans who recognise in those actions an equivalent intention and goal. Action thus “becomes the ‘a priori’ principle that enables social bonding” (Leigh Foster 2008:

55). Social bonding, by necessity, requires the presence of another; so do mirror neurons. In other words, we need an audience. “As people, through memorized culturally specific postures, gestures and practices in the highly emotionally charged co-presence of others, enact their image of the past, their mutual bonds and feelings of belonging are reinforced” (Misztal 2003: 126). Society so suggests and recognises (appropriate) behaviours, including those at memorial sites, places designed for mourning, remembrance and sombre reflection (see Fulbrook 2000).

In conclusion, the concept of public remembrance implies performance, as commemorative structures and acts are displayed in order to portray a specific message to a receiving audience, and to hopefully persuade them of the accuracy of that message, here the particular version of the past. Furthermore they are public acts of acknowledgement. Performances of public remembrance are expressed modes of transmission of the past, performing their function in both material form (e.g. memorials, artefacts or texts), and in embodied practices or acts such as official and vernacular commemorative rituals. Memorial sites themselves are commemorations, while simultaneously serving in a centering function in that they are a gathering place where commemorative acts are practiced. Acts of public memory are “expressed by groups of people prepared to face their shared past together. When they come together, remembrance becomes performative” (Winter 2006: 280). Both public remembering and performance are social activities. One of the fundamentals of performance is a ‘being in the moment’ (Meisner and Longwell 1987), or a doing in the present. To Becker and Lentz (2013) it is the ‘now’ wherein lies the power of national commemorative acts.

This chapter has discussed the theoretical foundations underpinning this research by drawing from recourses of collective (or social) memory and performance studies to illustrate the ways in which remembrance is performed in the public sphere. The activity-based and presentist nature of both disciplines indicates the potential of a performance lens applied to the study of public memory and remembering.

Overviewing the key components concerned with collective memory this chapter has examined the sociology of collective memory. Remembering is a social process in which meanings of the past are (re)constructed in the socio-political settings of the present. The making and (re)making of official public memory is both a (political) provision and a public performance in which certain versions, especially of traumatic events, are transmitted to a receiving public via memorial artefacts and commemorative rites. At the same time memorialising artefacts and commemorative acts are performed and used in vernacular forms of public remembrance. Highlighted throughout this chapter is the understanding of both remembering and performance as social activities done interactively in the present, in particular times and places. This understanding has directly informed the methods of data collection employed in this research, which is the focus of the following Chapter 3.

Chapter 3. Performing Ethnography

Most days I travelled to the memorial via the underground subway, taking the blue A or C trains from my flat in Brooklyn and getting off at Fulton Street Station in the financial district of Manhattan. Turning west on Fulton, the nearly completed Freedom Tower framed by the sky was a noticeable beacon pointing to the location of the memorial. This, of course, was my destination and my gaze was drawn upwards as soon as the new tower entered my vision. Eyes held up in a steadfast gaze my body moved towards it, aware of the tragic reason of its existence. Every day, even after weeks and months of fieldwork, my eyes locked onto 1 WTC as if greeting a familiar, albeit new acquaintance. This did occur not only downtown, the immediate vicinity of the site of loss, but whenever and wherever I saw the building, even from a distance and at one point even from a plane. Fellow pedestrians walking the busy streets around me took note of the soon to be finished tower as well, evidenced by their glances equally drawn upwards alongside mine, a shared, communal gazing.

Lower Manhattan does not follow the uniform street grid of avenues and numbered streets so typical for most of the borough. The financial district is located in the older part of town, the area that was first colonised and laid out by the Dutch, then the English, and further shaped by the influx of millions of immigrants arriving at the harbour via Ellis Island and other ports of entry. The streets downtown are narrow, twisted and kinked. Densely packed, the tall buildings create gloomy urban canyons allowing little light to travel below. When the Twin Towers still stood the dimness down here was even more permeable, their shadows looming over much of the area, the sky visible only as a mere sliver. The towers' presence not only dominated Manhattan's iconic skyline but also affected the ground at street level. With the Twin's fall, light has returned to the financial district; their absence is made present through light.

In his master plan for the re-development of Ground Zero designer Daniel Libeskind devoted half of the 16 acres of disaster zone to a memorial plaza, which would be surrounded by commercial office high-rise buildings. The size of destruction left by the terror attacks had always been an abstract notion to me, the area was too large and too altered to associate this ‘scar’ with what was the World Trade Centre. It did however become somewhat comprehensible upon seeing the vast construction and rebuilding that was and still is occurring in lower Manhattan’s memorial district. The enormous construction zone beginning at Church Street gave testament to the fact that on that day more went missing than people and two iconic buildings, although the structural absence left by 9/11 seems reduced to the absence of the Twin Towers. Walking south on Church Street, the early structures of a white ribcage of what would become the Oculus²⁷ (the winged structure above the new World Trade Centre Transportation Hub), and new World Trade Centre buildings (WTC 2, 3 and 4) in varying stages of completion were rising up to the right. The sidewalk was filled with street vendors peddling unofficial²⁸ 9/11 merchandise, historical guides of the World Trade Centre and the attacks, posters depicting stylised images of the Twin Towers, and commemorative trinkets like magnets and key chains. The dominant motif was the towers. The constant visible reminders of them were a constant reminder of their absence.

Memory studies, as a multi- and interdisciplinary field, has yet to tackle concretely matters of methodology. On the one hand, this is certainly due to the diversity of disciplines interested in collective memory. On the other hand, it may be because of the somewhat one-sided focus on theoretical explorations concerning the study of memory (Keightley and Pickering 2013). With a few exceptions (Radstone 2000, Kannsteiner 2002, Keightley 2010, Wertsch and Roediger 2008, Keightley and Pickering 2013), methods have been somewhat neglected, utilised of course, but perhaps not as part of an established field. The works that have addressed

²⁷ The *Oculus* officially opened to the public on March 3 2016. Designed by architect Santiago Calatrava, the ribcaged structure holds a huge shopping mall, subway and Path stations, and connects to the ferry landing by the Hudson River.

²⁸ Unofficial here meaning not produced and/or sanctioned by the 9/11 Memorial and Museum Foundation.

methodology are often limited in that they merely state the challenges without providing concrete ideas or remedies, or alternately the practical approaches proposed are limiting. Radstone (2000), for example, views memory as narration. Accordingly, her book and the methods she proposes are narrative based, which is useful to those interested in this kind of transmission of memory. However, as examined throughout the previous Chapter 2, the modes through which memory is expressed reach beyond the realm of narrative and discourse. Kannsteiner (2002) broadens the scope by pointing out that memory studies tend to be concerned with the representation of events, however neglects to think sufficiently about audiences consuming these representations, and the methodological choices he proposes reflect that dilemma. Keightley and Pickering's (2013) edited collection is probably the most comprehensive exploration of methods in memory studies for now, as they seek to encourage reflexivity and the use of a broader range of methods applied to the study of social memory. Arguing that empirical prowess should alleviate some of the methodological shortcomings of the discipline, they offer a selection of case studies of various scholars and various disciplines so reflecting the differing approaches to, and varying localisation of memory. These studies show memory as fragmentations of trauma, as media events, or as a source and carrier of identities. The methods used reflect the disciplines in which these matters were explored. I am hoping to add further to the toolkit of 'memory methods' by blending ethnography with performance analysis.

The concept of performance provides analytical depth in regards to the making and (re)making of public remembrance. Schechner's (1988a: 22) definition of performance, an "activity done by an individual or group in the presence of another individual or group", is especially useful in the conceptualisation of a performed public remembrance as it acknowledges the active and collective nature of both performance and memory, as well as the importance of an audience who are co-creators of the performance process. Furthermore, performance is a mode of transmission and a process, which if conveyed effectively, consists of recognisable and repeated bodily forms (Assmann 1988; Schechner 1988a, 2003, Connerton

1989). Although repeated, performances are never the same as they occur within, and are subject to, specific socio-cultural, spatial and temporal contexts and therefore have a transient quality. Edward Schieffelin (2005: 81) aptly sums this up, stating: “a performance is first and foremost a living event. When it is over, it is gone”. Whether they are truly gone, of course, is much debated and discussed in Chapter 2. Although occurring in the now, traces remain (Schneider 2001, Taylor 2003). Performances are embedded in the contextual configurations of time and space, and exist in an interdependent relationship between official versions, stipulated public representations of the past, and receiving and interpreting audiences. Performed acts of public remembrance are social events. As such they abound with social behaviours and bodily interactions that are observable and can be probed and analysed. The question is how to capture the intricate doing and performing of public remembrance in situ, and before they disappear?

The following chapter provides an account of how ethnographic methods were used in this study of performance. I draw out the relationship between ethnography and performance before sketching out the methods toolkit employed in this research and the representational practices that comprised the doing, the process and product, of this ethnography.

3.1 Ethnography and Performance

According to Nesbitt (2000: 49) “ethnography may hold the greatest potential for interpreting the dialectical relationship between politics, culture, economics, and the physical environment that make up daily life within a given region or locale”. At the same time, ethnographic research comes with a set of challenges, as acknowledged by Nesbitt (2000: 49), who describes it as an “inherently complicated endeavour”. Similarly, Atkinson et al (2001: 2) point out that the ethnographic method is “often characterised by fragmentation and diversity”. The fragmented and diverse nature of the method pointed out here seems to stem from the many different foci, loci and ways of doing ethnography, and the fact that it is both a process and a product. No

longer exclusively situated in the field of anthropology and the study of so-called ‘primitive’ societies (see Malinowski 1978 [1922], Geertz 1972), ethnographic methods have been adopted in sociology to investigate matters of social class (Dolby, Dimitriadis, and Willis 2004), racial realities in urban settings (Goffman 2014), institutions (Smith 2006), social media networks (Boyd 2014) and so much more. These different applications and supposedly “ambivalent meanings” of the method (Conquergood 2003: 351) have in common a rigorous focus on empirics and practice.

In an often-quoted description, Hammersley and Atkinson (1995: 1) stress that the method

involves the ethnographer participating, overtly or covertly, in people’s daily lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions – in fact, collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues that are the focus of the research.

... To *participate*, time passing, to *see*, to *listen*, to *ask* and to “*collect whatever data*” within a specific frame of research. The verb-use Hammersley and Atkinson employ proposes a strong emphasis on doing while being in the field. This entails an embedded understanding that the doing of ethnography is an activity and, as such, examines the process in terms of social construction. In this, ethnography is an intersubjective process that can illuminate the ways in which societies and cultures organise, (re)produce and (re)shape wider structures (Willis 2000), like, for example, public remembering.

Karen O’Reilly’s (2012) discussion on ethnographic methods provides a more detailed account of practice. To her, ethnography involves (at least) an:

iterative-inductive research (that evolves in design through the study), drawing on a family of methods involving direct and sustained contact with human agents, within the context of their daily lives (and cultures), watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions, and producing a richly written account that respects the irreducibility of human experience that acknowledges the role of theory as well as the researcher's own role and that views humans as part object/ part subject. (O'Reilly 2012: 2)

O'Reilly here adds the dimensions of ethnographic writing and reflexivity – more doings. The previous chapter has framed the theoretical foundation of this research, highlighting the (co)active doing in the present as a core feature of both public remembering and performance. Ethnography shares the same characteristics. “Remembering,” according to Keightley (2010: 58), “is not just an articulation of individual psychologies, but a performance rooted in lived contexts”. Lived contexts are the purpose of ethnographic research. It is these links Keightley points to, the links between ethnography and performance that are key to this research and the processes of data collection.

Diana Taylor (2003) especially has provided productive considerations regarding performance and ethnographical work.

Much performance, in a sense, has something in common with the raw materials of ethnography, stemming from social behaviours, rituals, and dramas that ethnographers make their focus. Performance, too, explores the use of significance of gesture, movement, and body language to make sense of the world. (Taylor 2003: 77)

Taylor not only draws the similarities between performance and ethnography, but indeed insists that “ethnography not only studies performance ... it is a kind of performance” (Taylor 2003: 75). Examining “theatrical aspects normally associated with acting (movement, body language, gesture), with staging (backdrop, context)

and dramatic employment (crisis, conflict, resolution)” gives insight to the object of analysis that is, according to performance and public remembrance paradigms, always occurring in the present. At the same time the ethnographic, textual, output is a performance in itself. According to Taylor (2003: 3), performance

constitutes the methodological lens that enables scholars to analyze events as performance. Civic obedience, resistance, citizenship, gender, ethnicity, and sexual identity, for example, are rehearsed and performed daily in the public sphere. To understand these as performance suggests that performance also functions as an epistemology. Embodied practice, along with and bound up with other cultural practices offers a way of knowing.

Applying a performance analytic to the ethnographic explorations of events, here public remembrances ‘as’ performance, provides a useful tool for structuring and categorising what is seen, heard, said and so on. Pavis (2003) provides a useful guide outlining the principles of performance analysis, which is attained through detailed descriptions of the *mise-en-scene*. *Mise-en-scene*, broadly speaking, refers to the placing, arrangement or staging of a scene including the setting, costumes, props, lighting, make up, etc. The descriptions are “usually layered on top of a telling of the story ... or at least the narration of the most remarkable events on stage; this facilitates a broad overview of the materials used, a natural segmentation of the performance and a highlighting of potent moments from the *mise-en-scene*” (Pavis 2003: 7). Applied to ethnographic work, this implies a teasing out of specific moments, settings or scenes. Describing the *mise-en-scene* methodologically, its components and as a whole, allows for an examination of contexts in which performances play out.

Pavis’ use of descriptive *mise-en-scene* is very similar to the ‘thick description,’ proposed by (Geertz 1973), the written (re)presentation of what was seen, heard, said, felt and experienced, as a way of preserving, in textual form, performances before they disappear. The descriptions ought to be specific and rich in detail, or

thick. The goal of the ethnographic process is the production of “the sort of sensible actuality that makes it possible to think not only realistically and concretely *about* [the objects of investigation], but, what is more important, creatively and imaginatively *with* them” (Geertz 1973: 23, emphasis in original). In terms of performance, the text is what remains, the process becomes product, the doing a done, the performed a performance.

Where Geertz is concerned with the product, Pavis (2003) is concerned with the process. As a performance scholar describing the *mise-en-scene*, he tends to position himself as a spectator, and as such privileges ocular ways of knowing. Public remembrance is a social and constructive activity, and a dwelling in the public sphere (Tota 2006). To Farmer (2000: 3) commemoration is “the act of remembering and memorialising past events, in public, as a member of a group”, which coincides with Goffman’s (1963) notion of ‘co-presence’, as well as Schechner’s (1988a) definition of performance introduced earlier. Performed practices are to be “seen and witnessed as public presentation Performance in this context is an active agent in the construction of social reality” (Boute and Thomas Småberg 2013: 2). As discussed in Chapter 2, the matter of performance involves the body and by extension the senses. In the context of this thesis, however, the visual takes a privileged position. After all, performance, by definition, depends on notions of spectatorship, which etymologically comes from the word root ‘spec’ meaning ‘to look or see’. In a similar vein, the term theatre is derived from the Greek ‘theatron,’ meaning ‘seeing place’ (McConachie 2010).

Privileging the visual

O’Reilly (2012: 160) defines visual ethnography as “ethnographic analysis of the uses and impacts of visual media and materials, to the employment of visual media for ethnographic research and representation, and to the incorporation of a visual perspective (or lens) in mainstream ethnography”. Often the visual is synonymised

with 2D material like photographs or images (Pink 2001, Rose 2007). Michael Emmison and Philip Smith (2000) propose an alternative take on visuals, one that points toward an understanding of visual data reaching beyond two-dimensional components of texts or photographic images. They propose “a sociology of the seen, rather than a sociology of the image” (Emmison and Smith 2000: 173). Visual data may “potentially encompass any object, person, place, event or happening which is observable to the human eye” – as long as there is an analytical framework attached to the investigation of these raw materials (Emmison and Smith 2000: 4). In this thesis, the analytical frame is ‘performance’. This proposes that the visual is also spatial.

Objects, places and locales carry meanings through visual means just like images. Clothing, gesture and body language are significant signs which we use to establish identity and negotiate public situations. Eye contact ... plays a role in regulating social life among strangers ... The material ecology of the built environment – shopping malls, museums and public spaces more generally – exert a determining influence on the movement and mutual coordination of people. Tensions between surveillance, visibility and privacy regulate our uses of such spaces. (Emmison 2010: 235)

Emmison argues that visual data cannot be understood as two-dimensional representations. Instead he calls for a three-dimensional conceptualization of visual data. Observing what people do with and around objects allows for an understanding of “social and cultural behaviour and processes” (Emmison 2010: 242). To him, the visual incorporates materials and objects (e.g. maps, signs, buildings, but also gatherings and people) which too function as texts. These texts can be analysed in terms of their social and cultural meanings, as well as how these materials perform, are used and are made sense of in practice. Furthermore “objects, people and events, which constitute the raw materials for visual analysis, are not encountered in isolation but rather in specific contexts” (Emmison 2010: 238). As such visual materials hold a signifying and regulatory function. Physical layouts of designed spaces both influence and control pedestrian movements, directly impacting the experiences and performance within these spaces. Emmison introduces notions of

bodily practices and how they are controlled or guided by the environment. Understanding visual materials as three-dimensional objects that are produced and consumed within specific contexts provides a useful basis for the investigation of the performative nature surrounding the practices of public remembrance. Objects, people and events are viewed as representations.

This view of the visual is certainly useful, especially in regards to the memorial site and how its special configurations function in the larger context of a commemorative discourse, and the urban space in which it was built. However, according to the above-mentioned definition, a performance is an often strategic activity that requires the presence of an audience. This raises two issues that hint towards the limitations of an ethnography solely focused on the visual, albeit a privileged mode of inquiry in this thesis. For one, strategic processes need to be deciphered in relation to the socio-cultural contexts in which they are embedded and the goal they are aiming to achieve, as well as to strategic moves actually available in the conventions in which performances occur. These contexts and goals cannot be decoded by merely ‘looking’, which leads me to the second point: the term audience. Although closely associated with spectatorship, it has at its word root ‘audio’, sound. This reveals that the process of ‘audiencing’ (Fiske 1994) is complex and relates to seeing *and* listening. In this the make-up of performance itself challenges the “cultural thrall to the ocular” (Schneider 2001: 101).

This thesis uses the visual to record the performances of public remembrances of 9/11 ethnographically, before they disappear, and to

illuminate the ... intersensory involvements with built environments, objects, fabrics, and monuments, and to explore the interplay between visibility, tactility, and emotion, by looking at how the past is transmitted and received not merely on a cognitive basis, but on a multi-sensual level. (Freeman, Nienass and Daniell 2016: 10)

Performance used analytically acknowledges that the world (and remembering) is experienced in a physical way by embodied beings (Meyer and Woodthorpe 2008). By being there, witnessing and being part of the performed remembrances, I seek to “understand human conduct as it unfolds through time and relation to its meanings for the actors” (Conquergood 2003: 352).

3.2 Doing Ethnography

My ethnographic work involved observations, conversations, writing, the collection and creation of images and sketches, ‘hanging out’ and walking. This thesis is shaped by the performances, voices and impressions of preliminary trips to the memorial in 2012 and follow-up visits in 2017. Mainly, fieldwork was conducted in 2013 and 2014. The primary site of focus in this research was the National 9/11 Memorial in New York City, the principal *lieu de mémoire* (Nora 1989) in the commemorative master narrative of 9/11, and the areas around it.

Defining the field

Before coming to New York the plan was to focus solely on the 9/11 memorial site. However, during my daily walks from the subway train to the site I quickly realised that ‘9/11’ was not contained by the dedicated area of the newly built memorial space. There seemed to be an unmarked barrier, an invisible threshold, where New York’s financial district transformed into what I call New York’s ‘memorial district’. In the memorial district stores and street vendors conspicuously sold (unofficial) 9/11 merchandise, and white and blue signs directed the streams of visitors toward the memorial site entrance, both below the ground in subway and Path train stations, as well as in the streets above. Exiting visitors of the memorial who had purchased memorabilia in the 9/11 gift-shop carried the institution’s logo around on their shopping bags. Aside from the numerous visual reminders of the event, I also noticed a shift in the conversation topics I overheard while walking the streets in the memorial district: the closer one inched towards the memorial site, the more conversations turned to September 11, 2001.

Mapping the space and locating commemorative landmarks, I narrowed down lower Manhattan to define the 9/11 memorial district as an L-shaped area bordered by Barclay Street to the north, Broadway and Greenwich Streets to the east, Rector and Albany Streets to the south and the West Side Highway (West Street) to the west. Notable within the perimeters are the 9/11 memorial, 1 WTC, the 9/11 Tribute Centre, the 9/11 Preview Centre, the FDNY Memorial Wall, St. Paul's Chapel and the Bell of Hope, St. Peter's Roman Catholic Church and the WTC Iron Trident Cross, Trinity Church, and Zuccotti Park (see Appendix 2).

During my ten months in New York there were some special occasions during which the memorial district expanded, especially in the days leading up to and on the anniversary of the attacks on 11 September. A visit to *Point Thank You*, for example, meant a trip to the West Side Highway at the intersection of Christopher Street (see Chapter 6), whereas participating in or watching memorial walks and runs meant an expansion to include those designated routes (see Chapter 5). I also took a long weekend to travel to the other two national 9/11 memorials in the US, the Flight 93 Memorial in Stonycreek Township, PA and the National 9/11 Pentagon Memorial in Arlington, VA. The visit to these two memorials do not necessarily qualify as expansion of the field site, but broadened and deepened my analytical understanding of the performed remembrances I had observed in New York.

To note the 'odd one out': the annual commemorative ceremony held at Ground Zero was not observed as a live performance. 11 September is the sole day of the year at which regular operating hours of the memorial are suspended. The site is not open to the general public, making it appear a 'private' location for victims' family members and invited guests. However, each year the memorial service is televised, broadcast on public and local stations. As a televised, public media event, large audiences do indeed witness the commemoration making it in fact not very private. This ceremony consists of a set of rituals which are now associated with the memorialisation of September 11 such as the reading out loud of victims' names, the ringing of the

remembrance bell and moments of silence commemorating the times of each plane's impact/ crash and the collapses of the two towers. Because of the entrance restrictions, I was unable to attend the ceremony in person. Therefore I recorded the televised broadcast on video to include this commemorative performance in my inquiry.

(Participant) observing

To Peña, who is clearly inspired by Conquergood, “the art of fieldwork is performance” (Peña 2011: 3). As identified in the previous Chapter 2, a performance is a dialogic process consisting of performers and audiences who themselves are engaged in performing. Accordingly, I am positioning myself as both actor and spect-actor, although the boundaries are often blurred. Analysing public remembrances as performance, I entered the field as a “co-performative witness,” a concept privileging bodily action (Peña 2011):

This mode of research is a deeply politicized way of seeing and being in the field. Its point of departure is twofold. First, the ethnographer and the subject are always, and have always been ... engaged as interlocutors. Second, co-performative witnessing does not rely solely on texts housed in archives, oral histories, maps, or statistics but also foregrounds sensual communication – the rich subtext and often deeply coded moments of bodied exchange – that produce knowledge, ideas, opinions, mores, and traditions. (Peña 2011: 3)

Wolcott identifies three categories of activities – guidelines for *looking* – comprising of multiple techniques involved in the ethnographic process broadly reflecting traditional methods of participant observation, interviews and documentary research. The categories coincide with the before mentioned description by Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) of ethnography involving participation, watching, listening and asking, and to “collect whatever data”. Wolcott classifies the techniques of ethnographic looking as *experiencing* (relating to participant observation), *enquiring*

(questionings of all sorts, from casual conversations and interviews to surveys and questionnaires) and *examining* (involving documents ranging from found artefacts to archival research).

The most prominent tools in my ethnographic toolkit relate to experiencing and enquiring, and they often overlapped. Participant observation is “the systematic description of events, behaviours, and artefacts in the social setting chosen for study” (Marshall and Rossman 1989: 79). It is an active looking and requires ethnographic ‘mind-work’. Observation is a vital part of learning (see Aristotle 1996, Gallese 2001, 2003). By observing and experiencing the field first-hand, by being there, (co)performances can be captured as they occur in everyday life. Being there and ‘hanging out’ for an extended time held the advantage of experiencing the memory of 9/11, the memorial space and New York City, but also the US during times of routine, and when routines were broken at the anniversary of 9/11 (see Dayan and Katz 1992; Kligler-Vilenchik, Tsfati and Meyers 2014).

Enquiring, or interviewing, is related to experience, but according to Wolcott (1999) must be differentiated as it entails a different type of knowing. Enquiring can range from impromptu chats to distributed questionnaires. My enquiring consisted of casual conversations and impromptu (unstructured and audio-recorded) interviews in and around my field-site and semi-structured interviews. Seeing, asking and listening can reveal much as “witnessing ... behaviour can be extremely valuable [allowing one to] tease out beliefs about how people should act and the inevitable tensions between what people feel they ought to do or ought to say, and what they do or say in fact” (Wolcott 1999: 49).

Participant observation was predominantly carried out in and around the memorial structure. Before describing this process in detail, I should briefly insert the matter of access to the site. Part of my preparations before departing Edinburgh included

considerations of access to the memorial. It was anticipated that continuous access to the site would need to be negotiated, possibly on an administrative level. After all I would be spending lots of time at a highly secured and surveilled place and did not want to cause any suspicions. These initial concerns were eased after meeting my first ‘official’ contact, a member of the foundation’s board of directors. In June 2013, I had just arrived in New York, by happy accident I was introduced to Lena, a board member of the 9/11 Memorial and Museum Foundation who lost a family member in the towers. I was having coffee with a former professor of mine, who upon learning of my research focus remembered her acquaintance, who indeed was one of the names I was planning to contact in the following days.²⁹ The introduction was set up via email the very same day. The contact was very receptive and interested in my research and offered her help. After our first personal meeting during which we walked the memorial together, she introduced me to other members of the board and senior staff members who also assured me that access negotiations were not necessary as the memorial plaza is a public space. Throughout my presence at the site I never encountered any issues. In many ways not having administrative access was better as I got to experience the sometimes hour-long queues and security measures along with people who I would then observe in their navigation of the environment.

The 9/11 memorial is one of the most popular tourist attractions in the country and, accordingly, was mostly crowded. I watched and took part in the visitor experience, had informal conversations with visitors (most often tourists), volunteers and staff members, security personnel and members of the New York Police Department (NYPD). Usually I tried to blend in with other visitors at this public site. Karen O’Reilly (2012) points out that in many works dealing with this method a sharp distinction between overt and covert research is flawed as both exist in a fluid state. It is difficult to maintain a strictly overt or covert role, especially when researching a

²⁹ I had generated a document of all the board members, listing their names and contact information. I had intended to approach them regarding access to the site and possibly arrange interviews. All names are accessible via the 9/11 Memorial and Museum website, available at: <https://www.911memorial.org/board-directors> (Accessed 18 May 2017).

group for a long time or, as in my case, a public place of mass tourism. The term covert itself is perhaps not the right word when discussing research in public spaces. Covert research often connotes a secret or deliberately concealed objective and identity taken on in order to uncover, discover or recover the inner workings of a group, sub-culture, the work-place, organisations and more. The covert positions taken for example by Archard (1979), Ditton (1977) or Murray and Buckingham (1976) highlight the ethical murkiness such research entails. To regulate these, at times questionable kinds of participant observation, ethical guidelines regarding covert research have been set in place.³⁰

Although I did not announce my researcher self at the memorial, I was not engaged in some form of deception. Being continuously overt in this public setting would be utterly impractical, if not impossible, and furthermore would have undermined the behaviours and interactions I wished to observe (O'Reilly 2012, Punch 1986). Therefore, my researcher role varied, sometimes identifying myself explicitly as a researcher, other times behaving more like other visitors, blending in and trying to observing unobtrusively. In my note-taking and writing I ensured that physically identifiable features were omitted or obscured.

At times I took the role of *passive* observer (Spradley 1980, Wolcott 1999), a spectator in a traditional sense, a bystander, albeit immersed in the setting. To Wolcott (1999) experiencing is a *passive* activity, whereas enquiring is *active*, as one is engaged in asking questions. However, I take issue with the term 'passive' for several reasons. For one, the lines between actor and spect-actor are thin, if not blurred. Also, doing ethnography, even if perceived as a passive activity, never is. Rather I consider observing and asking to be equal strategic active processes that

³⁰ See, for example the *Statement of Ethical Practice* published by the British Sociology Association (2017), available at: https://www.britisoc.co.uk/media/24310/bsa_statement_of_ethical_practice.pdf (Accessed 24 June 2017), the ethics review of the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC), available at: <http://www.esrc.ac.uk/funding/guidance-for-applicants/research-ethics/ethics-reviews/> (Accessed 24 June 2017) or the Research Ethics Approval at the University of Edinburgh, available at: <http://www.sps.ed.ac.uk/research/ethics> (Accessed 13 May 2017).

require attention at all times. Instead of the oppositional terms *passive* and *active*, I propose the more nuanced distinction of *active* (experiencing) and *pro-active* (enquiring).

Part of my fieldwork was conducted in the summer time, the height of tourist season (although one could argue that NYC is always at the height of tourist season). During these hot months masses of visitors flooded the streets of lower Manhattan, moving to and from Ground Zero, waiting in line, sometimes over an hour, to see the memorial. Due to the sheer volume of interactions and behaviours to observe in such a crowd I quickly found myself exhausted after full days of active and pro-active observation. Managing this labour, I adjusted my observation schedule to structure my time in the field, dividing it into 3 and 4-hour intervals, covering morning, afternoon and evening hours. Overall this allowed me to be more productive and ‘sharp’ in my doing and to be more strategic while in the field.

Over time I developed different sets of strategies to navigate the crowded memorial space. I would randomly pick visitors in the waiting line, lone visitors, couples, families and groups, and shadow them from their entering until exiting the area, tracing their movements, actions and interactions in relation to the memorial site, staff and security, and other visitors. Paying attention to what Barthes calls the “great tactile phase of discovery” (Barthes 1991: 90), I noted where visitors stopped, what they touched and how they touched it, how they (en)acted the site and performed bodily public remembrance. I observed what and how visitors photographed, what motifs and compositions they chose and how their own bodies were shaped in order to execute these actions. Watching people’s performances and interactions, I wrote down their body languages and bodily inscriptions (attire and accessories such as buttons, bracelets etc.). Also written down were the topics of conversation I overheard. If opportunities presented themselves I approached people I had observed and prompted a conversation, initially in a casual manner. If they appeared receptive, I identified myself as a researcher and asked more targeted, probing questions. On

these occasions my interests were disclosed and explained. Also explained was that their participation in this study was absolutely voluntary and that responses and identifying characteristics would be treated thoroughly confidentially. During these receptive encounters roles and positions often shifted, turning me into a source of information visitors' had not anticipated. My knowledge of the memorial design turned conversation into a dialogue of reciprocity, an equally welcomed exchange of information.

Frankly, approaching strangers on a daily basis was not my favourite activity during the data collection process. Chatting casually was not the problem, but I never warmed to the awkwardness of the initial encounter, introduction, and the constant possibility of harsh rejection, although only a handful of times I perceived the refusal to talk with me as rude. I preferred sitting down on one of the stone benches in the space, lingering at the same spot for a certain amount of time. In the steady stream of visitors, patterns quickly emerged of reoccurring activities, gazes, interactions and behaviours. When people sat down next to me I took the opportunity to initiate a conversation. This bench-sitting technique had been quite successful during the ethnographic field-study for my Master's dissertation on Iona, a small island off the western coast of Scotland. It proved effective here too, possibly because I felt accustomed to it or maybe because people resting are just more relaxed and willing to have casual chats with strangers. Generally I found that sensory references to the environment (e.g. the coolness of the memorial panels, or the water spray of the waterfalls on windy days) were useful icebreakers, but of course not everybody wanted to chat with me.

With passing time I became more self-assured and less discouraged by "nos", yet the general discomfort of invading people's time with both "my pestering words and gazes" never fully disappeared (field-notes, 2 August 2013). Gazing is a seeing that is constructed socially (Foster 1988). "To gaze is to enter a relational activity of looking" (Sturken and Cartwright 2009: 94) which is directly influenced and

determined by relations of power and concepts of knowledge (Foucault 1973). Considering the memorial's status as one of New York's most prominent tourist attractions, the notion of 'tourist gaze' (Urry 1990) is worth addressing. Theorising the tourist gaze, Larsen and Urry (2011: 111) point out that the gaze "is not the property of individual sight", but is a learnt way of seeing, framed by social references (also see Berger 1990). It is in these frames that tourists are able to identify sights and places as worthy of their gaze. This is aided by other texts, visual and material identifiers (e.g. signs, emblems, staff, or properties) marking a site as sight, and of course other tourists identifiable through bodily inscriptions (e.g. apparel, cameras or guidebooks), spoken languages or body language. There is a performed quality of gazing, implying that gazing is not necessarily restricted to seeing but includes the body.

Following Larsen (2005), I took note of displayed bodily performances of visitors to the site, paying attention to prevalent gazes coinciding with popular photo motifs, people's photographing habits, how they staged the scene, and themselves in it. Making notes and drawing sketches of my observations, I also took advantage of the popularity of recent technological developments: as digital cameras and smart phones were people's most common recording devices, I was able to take peeks at view-finders, so gaining a sense of their framing of pictures, their mise-en-scenes. As I am interested in the performative nature of the memorial space, I paid close attention to visitors' bodily engagements with the site itself, too, keeping in mind that architects, when designing spaces, are aware of bodies in space and contemplate how built structures impact, control and invite bodily movements. This speaks to matters of choreography, which were important aspects of my analysis.

Walking and talking

Moving with people was an important factor in my data collection, both at memorial walks and in day-to-day visits to the field-site. I walked amongst strangers through

the memorial district, waited and moved through long lines in order to enter the memorial plaza, then wandered inside the memorial perimeters, exiting past the gift shop.

Keen on gaining a full picture of the visitor experience, I entered through all available access points: the ticketed visitor line, the non-ticketed visitor line, the group entrance and the family entrance. Often I walked by myself, but I would also prearrange visits and walk the memorial space and district with visitors to the memorial, once with a guided tour group, at other times with friends or visiting family or friends whom I had not met before. Like me, many of my acquaintances who had been living in New York in 2001 have avoided Ground Zero and the memorial. A few of them however, upon hearing about my research, decided to see the memorial after all and agreed to let me walk with them and be interviewed afterward. When I knew of people having friends or family in town, I would ask whether they were planning to visit the memorial and, if yes, whether they would mind me accompanying and/or interviewing them.

“We are inclined to reduce the activity of walking to the mechanics of locomotion, as though the walker were a passenger in his own body and carried by his legs from point to point” (Ingold 2007: 76). However, there are other ways of walking. Ingold suggests ‘wayfaring’ which considers the relationship between movement and environment, and requires a sense of bodily awareness moving through particular settings. I much preferred these prearranged outings to my usual observations, which necessitated approaching strangers constantly. Enquiring freely about observed wayfaring and bodily movements, such as the navigation of the site or the tactile engagement with it, established a sense of intimacy. Walking with participants, an emergent ethnographic approach (Lee and Ingold 2006, Pink 2008), allows the researcher to “imagine how others might be emplaced in the world” (Pink 2008: 187). Walks may suggest the subconscious thinking of and through the body. Pace,

directions, changes in posture etc., all give hints towards a walker's distastes, inclinations, preferences or remembrances.

Semi-structured interviews

In addition to numerous informal conversations at the site, I conducted twelve semi-structured in-depth interviews with staff and board members of the 9/11 memorial and museum, residents of lower Manhattan, a member of the FDNY, members of the press, and visitors to the memorial. These interviews were audio-recorded and conducted in a variety of settings: in respondents' offices, coffee shops and pubs. The lengths of interview sessions varied, but on average lasted between a half and one hour. Most interviews were voice-recorded and later transcribed.

Lena, the first contact I was introduced to, agreed to be interviewed twice. We walked and talked once at the memorial in the early weeks of fieldwork, and then again in my final weeks in New York for a sit-down interview. She also provided recommendations and introductions to other members of the memorial organisation. For the recruitment of my other interview participants I drew on my existing contacts and their acquaintances. Snowballing for further participants proved useful, as a rapport had already been established either because of our previous relationship and/or someone having had a successful interview with me.

Semi-structured interviewing ensured a focus on my research questions while also allowing me to adapt according to the conversation and situation at hand. Conducting a successful interview requires planning, preparation and flexibility on the part of the researcher, in addition to the possession of the necessary conversational skills (Mason 2002, Kvale and Brinkmann 2009). At the same time, the semi-structured format allows the data to be shaped by the process. In interview settings data is created rather than collected, as the interaction between researcher and participant

influences both content and context of the interview (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009). An interview is a collaborative act and no situation and interview is ever the same due to the internal and external factors affecting both parties, leading Mason (2002: 67) to argue that “interviewing is hard, creative, active work. The informal and conversational style of this form of interviewing belies a much more rigorous set of activities”.

There were also times that left me frustrated, especially when interviewing higher-ranking staff members of the memorial foundation. It quickly became apparent how well-trained these employers were in navigating interviews and questions, especially with members of the press. Considering the highly publicised contestation surrounding both the memorial and the museum and the close scrutiny under which they operate, I should not have been as surprised as I was. Even though the interviews were set up rather easily, possibly because of the personal referral by Lena, or perhaps because of the formal PR procedures in place, a voice-recording of the interview was denied by a PR representative who was in attendance throughout, revealing the strict set of interview protocols prescribed by the institution. Nevertheless it was a warm and friendly environment. The responses however, although receptive and insightful, felt rehearsed and safe, protecting and advertising the interests of the foundation, and consequently the official message of New York and its public presentation of a 9/11 memory.

Recording field-notes: A Note on note-taking

“Field-notes form a central component of fieldwork and these take the form of the researcher’s contemporaneous record of observations and reflections, in other words a journal or diary” (Alaszewski 2006: 39). My fieldwork bag consisted of several note-taking items: my field notebook in which I wrote observations, descriptions, initial sketches, information etc., my self-made map to trace and mark movements,

memory objects and spots of interest, and my smartphone to take photos and record voice memos. As time progressed, my phone replaced my notebook as note-taking tool. I found typing into the device less restricting. As it also served as a camera, the phone became the single most important item in the data collection process. More importantly, using the phone allowed me to blend in more deeply with the other visitors, as mobiles seem to have replaced cameras as the essential tourist accessory. Especially in the early weeks of fieldwork I felt somewhat uncomfortable with my traditional and very visible utensils of research, specifically my notebook. It felt as though I stuck out amongst the crowd, was intrusive in my observing, even duplicitous in my ‘secret’ recording of others’ bodily movements, gestures, behaviours and conversations. In this, my researcher role seemed a hindrance because the constant self-awareness of my own performance prohibited me from approaching those people who had ‘caught’ me watching them, even though it would have been immensely interesting to find out about this bodily interaction with the memorial or that photographing angle or motif. I needed to make an adjustment and switching exclusively to my mobile greatly eased my apprehensions because typing into the device was by no means a-typical behaviour in the urban space, nor was the taking of photos. In a way, this gave me a sense of control over my own performance, and allowed me to tease out my co-performative witnessing (Peña 2011).

The writing of field-notes is more than a mnemonic aid for future analysis. Indeed, Atkinson (1990) suggests, the activity of writing is both a process and a product (also see Wolcott 1999). Geertz (1973) calls for a detailed and richly written ethnographic account, a “thick description” that requires a reflexive engagement with the data in order to provide an understanding of social relations and interpretations determined and influenced by particular contexts. Instead of providing a mere description, Geertz insists on a written account that incorporates commentary, complex conceptual and contextual structures, and an interpretation of the associated meanings to what is observed, heard and collected. This reveals the complexity of ethnography, which is more than a set of methods or a mere collecting of data (Agar 2006). Rather, it is a

process that involves ‘mind-work’ (Wolcott 1999), a methodology, or “a kind of logic” (Agar 2006: 57), which “demands a consistent theoretical perspective; theory and method must go hand in hand” (Denzin 1970: 4). Harry Wolcott’s (1999) conceptualisation of ethnography and the ‘mind-work’ it involves provides a useful viewpoint. Wolcott distinguishes between “ethnography as a way of *looking*” and “ethnography as way of *seeing*” (Wolcott 1999: 65, emphasis added), to make clear the two entities of method: the collecting of data, the looking (participant observation, interviewing etc.); and methodology, the seeing. Seeing here is approached not only in a literal or visual sense, but as one encompassing “all the ways one may direct attention while in the field”, within, and guided by the chosen theoretical frames (Wolcott 1999: 43). One must further recognise that “the purposes that guide an ethnographic research have a context of their own” (Wolcott 1999: 16). Wolcott points towards the constructive nature of ethnography, subject to the representations of the researcher who has designed the study, approached the field-site and interpreted the data according to her socio-cultural contextual frames of reference.

Following Hammersley and Atkinson’s (1995) advice, I tried to write notes as quickly as possible, every day. While in the memorial spaces I would often find a place to sit and write notes in my notebook and later mobile phone, and also to trace/mark movements in my map. Notes were jotted down during the day and then typed up in my electronic research diary, which was also linked to my reflexive journal. While transferring my notes, I did not edit for content, I did however expand and reflect on my observations, marking the additional elaborations accordingly. I recorded my reflections, commentary and analytical tinkering, but also feelings of elation and woe associated with the process of fieldwork in attempting to understand my own reactions, feelings and judgements.

To allow for a detailed reading of the space, I made my own map focusing on the blueprint and composition of the design and including features within the memorial plaza such as the location of information points (brochures and machines set up to find the inscriptions of specific names on the memorial), informative and exit signs, and the placements of security personnel or voluntary staff.

The map allowed me to visualise the organisation of the space and to trace the movements and footpaths, the choreographies, of visitors. As Vaughan (2009: 319) states:

Maps are ordinary devices that use systems, signs, conventions, rules and laws, to make the abstract tangible and knowable ... The reading of maps, like the reading of creative works, involves an exchange between audience, maker and artefact. In order to be read, it is essential that both the content and the form of the artefact (the map) make sense and are accessible to those who engage in reading it. It is a spatial activity that is realized through an exchange between artefact and human.

As a designed and controlled place dedicated to a collective remembrance tends to impact many different people in similar ways (Steele 1981), attention was given to the movement in and out of the space, how the movement was organised, directed and encouraged by the structure itself, as well as semi-permanent measures taken by the organisation to control movements and gazes. Mapping space coincides with claiming space and implies a sense of possession. Vaughan (2009: 318) states that the mapping of spaces “is fundamentally linked to our ability to represent or describe our experience of space. The map is the intermediary between the abstraction of geospatial location and the phenomenon of being there”.

Choreography implies corporality, movement or a sequence of movement, as well as “system of command” (Allsopp and Lepecki 2008: 2). It is also understood in terms of structuring movement and “buildings choreograph space and people’s movement through them” (Foster 2011: 2). Here ‘buildings’ can easily be extended to include built structures including the visitor check-in, and the plaza itself with the memorial pools and trees and the fence surrounding it. ‘Building’ can also include the regulation signs sporadically found throughout it (and their enforcement by staff).

My mapping efforts were a process. Initially my maps were mere sketches, primitive outlines of the design, highlighting the features I deemed noteworthy (e.g. positions of signs or emergency exits). These first attempts were rather impractical and inadequate, however, as the sketches were not to scale and allowed only a small amount of space to annotate my scribbles. I then made a separate map pieced together from Google maps and the space maps distributed by the memorial. Although initially more useful, I realised within an hour of fieldwork tracing movements and describing them, this map, too, ran out of space. Concluding that I would need many separate area maps on any given day, I searched again for a practical alternative that would allow me to trace footpaths of particular groups and people and to note activities of interest in a more efficient way without requiring piles and piles of paper. In the end the solution was fairly simple: parchment tracing paper. I pieced together a detailed map containing permanent memorial features that served as blueprint and placed it underneath the tracing paper. Each sheet of parchment was dated and time-coded, and movements were traced on. Due to the translucence of the parchment sheets they can be placed atop each other, which provides a visual representation of emerging patterns, and serves as a guide of what people do.

Interested in observable performances, I took many photographs of the architecture and people, random snapshots of the field, of objects left, and interesting scenes, inscriptions and behaviours that caught my eye. These visual records served as

mnemonic aids, rather than objects of analysis, and the images found in this thesis are used as illustrative tools only. All images were uploaded, dated and filed to allow for comprehensive organisation. I was very aware of the ethical and legal aspects of images and that I could not use these images as a representative tool without first editing out identifiable features of depicted individuals who had not given their consent. To address this I divided my collection of photographs into two broad categories: private and public. Private photos were mnemonic aids for my eyes only. In this capacity they helped me make sense of my field-notes as I could cross-check scribbled down notes with the images in my mind and with those on my computer. Public photos on the other hand are those I feel ethically comfortable to share with the readers of the thesis. These images perform the function of visual aids adding nuance to the settings and stories described textually.

Visual and written texts may complement each other in the representation of data. To Plummer (2001) photographs enrich texts and can support arguments by providing visual evidence. O'Reilly (2012: 162) states that "pictures and other images [can be] used as writing, to convey a message, or to support written data by illustrating the argument more forcefully or profoundly than words" and adds that images can indeed make an argument. It ought also be recognised that images only capture a small snapshot of the social reality observed (Crang and Cook 2007). There are technological limitations of course, but also limitations of an interpretative nature. My choosing and framing of a shot was guided by my way of seeing the field and the particular research frames in which I was interested. As researcher I decided not only what is worthy to be photographed but also how the visual is used to support my arguments. It is therefore crucial to reflect in the visual data and the story subsequently constructed by me. At the same time, the autonomy of the beholder of these visuals and the previously discussed concept of audiencing (Fiske 1994) must be acknowledged.

3.3 Writing Ethnography

We do not come to a setting without an identity, constructed and shaped by complex social processes. We bring to a setting disciplinary knowledge and theoretical frameworks. We also bring a self which is, among other things, gendered, sexual, occupational, generational – located in time and space. This does not imply an uncritical celebration of the self. It does imply a self-conscious and self-critical approach to fieldwork. (Coffey 1999: 158)

This self-reflexive stance does not mean an ethnographic narration centring on the self, which matters “only in so far as it relates” to the research and the theoretical frames in which it operates Okely (1992: 1). Rather it is an analytical tool that calls attention to one’s assumptions, processes, interpretations and presentations. Ethnography is an approach in which the self is the research instrument. It is both method and methodology, both process and product. It is a reflexive activity that involves the gathering of data through a set of multiple techniques and the subsequent organisation, analysis and reporting of the collected data, within a theoretical framework (Wolcott 1999). Doing ethnography then can be understood as a dialogue in which the researcher “composes an iterative process that goes back and forth across ethnographic context, social theory and key issues ... getting absorbed in the intricacies of thought and experience” (Kleinman 1995: 194). What and how one experiences in the field is unpredictable. Ethnographic studies and doing ethnography therefore are never alike – much like a performance. “They will be different because of different combinations of ethnographer and community, different ways that a study moves, different choices and different contingencies along the way, different events in the world around the study – any or all of these can change the trajectory of a study over time” (Agar 2006: 23). The essence lies in how the experiences (and the process) are described and presented, which brings to mind James Clifford’s (1986: 115) observation that “ethnography...translates experience into text”.

Ethnography, Clifford (1983: 120) states,

is from beginning to end enmeshed in writing. This writing includes, minimally, a translation of experience into textual form. The process is complicated by the action of multiple subjectivities and political constraints beyond the control of the writer. In response to these forces ethnographic writing enacts a specific strategy of authority.

Much of the ambivalence regarding ethnography stems from its dual nature as both method and as “genre of social science text” (Conquergood 2003: 351). Geertz (1973: 20-1) outlines “three characteristics of ethnographic description: it is interpretive; what it is interpretive of is the flow of social discourse; and the interpreting involved consists in trying to rescue the ‘said’ of such discourse from its perishing occasions and fix it in perusable terms”. For the purposes of this research, with its analytical focus on performance, I replace the term ‘said’ with the term ‘done’. Highlighted here is how performance is a method of doing, and the doing of ethnography includes the dimension of writing, first in the scribbling of field-notes, then in the production of a cohesive text. The narrative product, implied by Geertz, is a construction, “something made, something fashioned” (Geertz 1973: 15). He goes as far as describing these constructions as fiction, which I find a tricky term because of its negative connotation of made-up, untrue or not real. Much like performance, just because something is constructed or performed does not mean it is not real, pretend or false. Nevertheless I understand what Geertz means to explain as the researcher’s focused account and framing is but one aspect of experience.

The constructive processes of this thesis are reflected in the following three chapters (Chapter 4-6), and my assemblage of a cast performing remembrances in different settings and scenarios. A scenario as defined by Taylor (2003), frames and activates social drama, the performances in everyday life. It occurs “never for the first time ... [as] it makes visible, yet again, what is already there: the ghosts, the images, the stereotypes” (Taylor 2003: 28). Taylor sees an advantage to looking at scenarios

“because they demand embodiment. Scenarios ... grab the body and insert it into a frame. The body in the scenario, however, has space to manoeuvre because it is not scripted” (Taylor 2003: 55). This focus of scenarios nevertheless requires a translation into text, a written, ethnographic narrative.

Thinking back and writing down my recollections and ethnography I noticed the dramatic tone my words would often take. Moreover I would find myself jumping from past tense to present tense, and leaning towards a passive voice when setting the scene descriptively (Van Maanen 1988). The theatricality and irregularities of my writing seemed to be a reflection of how ‘my memories’, presented themselves to me. There is a cinematic quality to the images in my mind, a hodgepodge of my own experiences of 9/11 and its remembrance, mixed with those of others I have heard or seen and read. But there are other vectors of experience and feelings intersecting here as well, notions of patriotism and paranoia, of grandly staged commemorations and rituals, of Freedom Fries and other political absurdities, of never-ending wars on terror costing more and more lives, and of a viciously fought-over ‘sacred ground’ now transformed into one of New York’s most popular tourist attractions. The past 15 years are part of my memories of 11 September 2001, accumulated and assembled in a nonlinear fashion, my own and yet shared by many, and shaped in complex ways, making evident the social nature of memory.

To acknowledge to sociality of remembrance, performance and writing I employ descriptive narratives, “personalized accounts of fleeting moments of fieldwork [and remembrances] in dramatic form” (Van Maanen 1988: 136). These stories are scene-setting devices, as well as textual *mise-en-scene*. They are meant to reflect different remembrances (and temporalities) and to establish an encounter between the readers and the writer who “chooses the cast of characters by virtue of framing the event, and endows it with shape and meaning” (Taylor 2003: 76). The ethnographic account is written through performance theory. In this the thesis is itself a performance. My choices of textual (re)presentation further seeks to “underline the understanding of

performance as simultaneously “real” and “constructed” (Taylor 2003: 3), and a blending of remembering and remembrances.

This chapter has provided an account of the ethnographic methods that were employed in this research. It teased out the relationship between ethnography and performance by focusing on the constructive and active nature of both, before discussing in detail the contents of my methods toolkit and the practices and doings involved during my months-long fieldwork in New York City and the 9/11 memorial. This chapter concluded with some reflections regarding the representational nature of writing ethnography, acknowledging that the non-linear essence of remembering has influenced the writing of this textual performance.

Chapter 4. At the Memorial: Family, Tourists and Locals

Our movements are ever subject to the same physical forces as are built forms and may be physically contained, limited, and directed by these forms. Inevitably they are more intricately entwined with and dependent upon architecture than are sound and notation expressions of conversation, song, music, and writing. This critical interaction of body form and movement with architecture deserves careful attention. (Yudell 1977: 57)

The 9/11 memorial is an architecturally designed space. As Yudell points out in the quote above physical spaces are intricately interwoven with bodies moving in and through them. The memorial, as any (performance) space, is transformed through the moving bodies of actors and visitor/audiences alike who are each (en)acting remembrance from different positions. This chapter gives the interactions of the memorial architecture and the bodies in it the “careful attention” Yudell seeks. It looks at bodily actions in the architectural space of the 9/11 memorial, observing how different visitors are performing remembrance according to the dramaturgical script of remembrance (or not). It is divided into three sections, or scenarios, corresponding to three different accounts of different categories of representative participants, ‘characters’ or ‘archetypes’, found in the ‘everyday life’ of the memorial: a family member, a pair of tourists and a local New Yorker. The chapter examines how they perform remembering in the public setting of the 9/11 memorial and how they negotiate the official space acting in dual roles of performer and spectator. The cases illustrate the multitude of remembrances taking place at the official site of the memory of 11 September and so challenge the rigid distinction between official and vernacular public memory (Bodnar 1993). It shows that although the performances at the memorial site occur in an institutionalised, scripted and choreographed environment, the bodily (en)acting of and at the site may lead to

vernacular expressions of counter performances that can shift complex boundaries and commemorative narratives within the official space of remembrance.

4.1 Lena

Lena and I had arranged to meet in front of the visitor centre on the evening of July 9, 2013. The visitor centre was actually the 9/11-gift shop located at the corner of Albany and West Street. I had not thought those two locations to be the same. I had stepped into the shop before, and it never occurred to me to call it anything but a gift shop as it was just that: a store that sold branded merchandise, books, and commemorative trinkets. Leaning outside on a large piece of concrete roadblock I waited for Lena while watching steady streams of visitors squeezing in and out of the store's narrow glass doors.

This was the first 'walk and talk' of my fieldwork, and I was a little nervous to meet this unknown person with whom I was going to tour the memorial. Lena had lost a sibling in the attacks and now served the 9/11 Memorial and Museum foundation in an official capacity. A mutual acquaintance had introduced us via email, and Lena had happily agreed to meet and talk with me. Since I had found her image on the web beforehand, I recognized her right away when she turned around the corner in a bright sundress. She greeted me with an open smile and a warm hug, then immediately began to talk about the memorial space and the process of building it, and about her loss and her brother. At times her eyes teared up, but when I proposed to take a break she waved off, telling me not to mind, as she is "just a crier". Considering we had just met I had not expected this very open sharing of rather intimate stories. However, as the evening progressed I realised how very versed she was in speaking in public and to the media in her capacity in her official role and family representative. Speaking to strangers about both the memorial and her brother's death were part of her job, part of her routine. She did not have many questions for me, which indicated further how accustomed she was to speaking with people, and also revealed what information she assumed people would be interested

in. Engaged in deep conversation, we walked towards the 'family entrance' on West Street to get tickets. After a few steps we entered an unassuming door that could have easily been missed if one did not know to look for it. The room behind the door was equally unassuming. Family members of the deceased and their guests have their own security checkpoint here. Belongings are scanned and electronic devices have to be walked through, though the procedures occur in a much smaller and almost familiar setting. The two staff members working that day dealt with us courteously and friendly. Although tickets for family members and their guests were free, they had to be obtained and were checked twice before entering the plaza.

To enter the memorial plaza, we emerged into the final stretch of the visitor's entry lane, parallel to the exit lane. It was late in the evening and only a few people still navigated the path, most of them exiting. Showing our tickets we cut the line at West Street. Other visitors noted our privileged treatment. I was keenly aware how their gazes followed us, but Lena did not seem to notice, a false assumption on my end I learned later during our conversation. In fact she was keenly aware of being watched and of her own public performing (see below). We had to present our tickets once more at the plaza's mouth. The paper passes indicated the 'family member' status, and staff and security treated us with utmost respect. Having done this ticket check numerous times before as a regular visitor, it was interesting to see how different this usually dismissive routine was when walking with a family member. For once I actually felt seen at this final checkpoint. Inside the space, however, this being seen felt somewhat uncomfortable and even more so once we had made it to the actual memorial. In an instant Lena's 'special' status was recognised by visitor/audiences, aided by the performances of staff and security.

Upon entering the plaza I followed Lena as she turned immediately towards the north pool where the name of her dead brother is inscribed along with 657 others who worked at Cantor Fitzgerald. His office had been on the 104th floor of the North Tower, just above the first plane's impact zone (floors 93-99), and his remains were

never found. Since there was no body to bury, she considered the memorial her brother's final resting place. There was no rush in Lena's movement towards the northern pool, but no meandering either, only intent. Once there, she greeted the name with a gentle touch. At times she reached down into the water basin underneath the parapets, dampening his name in wiping motions, which darkened it and set it apart from the others. She kept caressing it while talking about her sibling, the memorial and the meaningful adjacencies of the names of the dead. When she talked about her brother's friends whose names she had requested to be arranged around his, her hand stroked theirs as well. All the while other visitors, as well as staff and security personnel, gazed at her, at her bodily expressions and tactile interactions with the physical memorial structure; or, in dramaturgical terms, they watched her performing the role of mourning and remembering family member in the setting of the memorial stage.

According to Goffman (1990) a performance encompasses "all the activity of an individual which occurs during a period marked by [her] continuous presence before a particular set of observers and which has some influence on the observers" (Goffman 1990: 32). These performances occur on specific stages and in specific settings, the "scenic parts of expressive equipment...the background items which supply the scenery and stage props for the spate of human action played out before, within and upon it" (Goffman 1990: 32-3). The memorial is a geographically stable setting (in that it physically does not move) in which Lena's actions and performance, her doing of remembrance, takes place. Goffman acknowledges that there are a few exceptional circumstances in which the setting is mobile, for example a funeral procession. In such instances, the actors partaking in the performance are granted momentary distinction, even sanctity by witnessing audiences. Lena is certainly given such heightened status, yet at the memorial it is tied to the space as her behaviour/ choreography/ actions, as well as the behaviour, choreography and actions of staff and security personnel, signal her distinct status in this environment. The setting aids the memorial's script as it provides a mental, spatial and temporal framework that advocates how and under what terms the performances in the space

(as well as the space itself) are to be interpreted by viewing visitor/audiences. As Fischer-Lichte (n.d.) asserts, performances take “place in and through the bodily copresence of actors and spectators. For in order to bring it about two groups of people who act as 'doers' and 'onlookers' have to assemble at a certain time and at a certain place” (Fischer-Lichte n.d.: 2). Moreover, the bodily performances or performative gestures of the doers have to be within the onlookers’ realms of recognisability or interpretability (Schechner 1988, Goffman 1990), although that does not necessitate that the recognitions are in accordance with the dramaturgical intent the authors, or designers of the spatial script, had in mind (Rancière 2007). Being with Lena in the space, the memorial truly felt like a theatrical stage on which she was a lead actor performing for a keen visitor/audience in the play of remembrance. Throughout, she was aware that her moving about the space and being treated extra-ordinarily by the space’s on-site ‘guardians’, and especially her own bodily expressions and her tactile engagement with the memorial structure, set Lena apart from regular visitors as it signalled that she was a family member mourning a lost loved one.

I asked Lena about her very tactile engagement with the memorial when I interviewed her a few months after this visit, on 6 May 2014. Although she was not sure why, being able to touch the parapets and names and to have an actual material connection of sorts was of much importance, especially because there are no bodily remains.

I don’t know what I, or one necessarily gets from that other than it’s... I mean I know that I have cried at my brother’s grave or- sorry, memorial ... it is his grave. I mean it really is ... I know that if my tears fall onto his name I wipe his name with my tears. Why don’t I just leave the tears? Why don’t I just let them dry? Why do I have to do that? I feel like it’s a ... it’s just an instinctual kind of thing that you want to connect to that person by either just touching them or rubbing water over them, or doing the rubbing, it seems like you are more connected with that, with your loved one.

She continued talking about this tactile connecting with the dead, not just with her brother but other victims as well. She has seen fellow family members do the same, wiping names dry of rain and tear drops, caressing them, or brushing off dust or leaves. In this, she is performing an act of care that goes beyond the physical maintenances of the (grave) site. What Lena describes are not uncommon bodily interactions with material memory objects and structures in an effort to remember the dead and make present an incessant emotional bond through gestures of mourning (Meyer and Woodthorpe 2008, Maddrell 2013). Places of memory represent such physical expressions of continuous social connection with the dead (Hallman and Hockey 2001). Functioning similar to other, more mobile material memory objects (flowers, flags, photos, teddy bears and such), memorial structures provide and (re)present a seemingly permanent physical link to those who are no longer present. On the one hand the 9/11 memorial is a national symbol and as such serves a national purpose that corresponds to a political framing of the past for both present and future purposes (Foote 2003, Foote and Azaryahu 2007). For Lena though (as to many others) the memorial has a deeper meaning because she views the site as a cemetery of sorts, as her brother's grave. In Lena's case the need for a physical link seems even more heightened, because her brother's remains were never found. Memorials serve as "markers for absent bodies" (Scates and Wheatley 2014: 530). Bones "are all that remain of the fragile body [and are] a solid evidence of a past life" Holt-Warhaft (2000: 79) states, they are "about holding on to the dead and about letting them go" (Holt-Warhaft 2000: 80). Lena's tactility with the memorial viewed in this way is a literal holding on to her absent sibling, and is deeply emotional.

Preston-Dunlop (1998) discusses the duality of motion and emotion, which she sees as the heart of a performer's experience. To her, "feelings give rise to movement, movement gives rise to feelings" (Preston Dunlop 1998: 49). Considering the performances in light of the memorial space, the expressions need to be understood as a bodily doing of remembrance. In his examination of war memorials commemorating World War I, Winter (1995: 93) states that memorials are "places where people [can] mourn. And be seen to mourn". This notion is echoed by Kear and

Steinberg (1999: 6) who propose that mourning itself “can be understood as a theatrical space”. What they suggest here is the concept of performance, embodied expressions of mourning performed in the presence of others. But rather than others witnessing acts of just mourning, they also witness remembering because of the spatial frame the memorial stage provides.

At the 9/11 memorial, Lena’s performed gestures of mourning coincide with acts of remembrance. Her remembering is identifiable through her movement and gestures (such as caressing the parapets), and expressed emotions, including tears. Choreographer Reinhild Hoffman concludes that it is impossible “to separate a personal feeling or a personal movement from a form. It always comes together. That’s the impulse” (Hoffmann, cited in Daly 2002: 10). This suggests that Lena’s performing in the space is intuitive and extemporaneous rather than rehearsed because she cannot *not* follow the bodily impulses the memorial induces. As such her performing is indissolubly from the memorial space. Lena’s performing of remembrance, which is taking place in Goffman’s ‘front’ and is therefore recognisable as expressed emotions and expressed gestures of mourning, is inextricably bound to the setting and stage of the 9/11 memorial. In fact, this particular performance cannot occur anywhere else. Lena can only perform this kind of remembrance because the role of performing family member is tied to the memorial space, as well as to the audience which is equally bound to the frame and setting of the memorial. This is reminiscent of Goffman’s (1990) proposal that “those who use a particular setting as part of their performance cannot begin their act until they have brought themselves to the appropriate place and must terminate their performance when they leave it” (Goffman 1990: 33). To an extent this is indeed the case here. Lena’s bodily performance as family member begins at the memorial and ends as she exits, even though her being a family member is unchangeable. Certainly there are other instances in Lena’s life, other settings, where her status is revealed and performed in public, but nowhere else does her performance include the tactile engagement with the memorial structure and subsequent association with her brother’s name in front of an audience expecting to witness such performed

remembering. Furthermore, in the space she has an acute awareness of being on a stage in the presence of others. She knows she is performing. However, whereas Goffman implies a sense of choice of setting, Lena's performance can only occur in this space. There is no choice, no other stage on which she can engage in the activity of remembering and perform as family member in this way. To Lena the public space is a gravesite; to visitor/audiences it is a public memorial and site of tourism. If Lena does not want to perform her remembering in front of others, she either has to restrict her expressiveness, which Hoffman (cited in Daly 2002) suggests is a difficult, possibly ingenuous feat, or she cannot be in the frame and setting of the memorial site at all.

In order to highlight the intertwined relationship between Lena's performance, the visitor/audience and the memorial stage, I want to propose the notion of an '(en)acted memorial', a memorial space used like a gravesite, visited by grieving relatives and friends. Family members are part of the 9/11 master narrative, are part of the dramaturgical script. Visitors enter the site under the assumption that mourning family members of victims are a constant presence. Based on my observations and conversations at the site this is not necessarily the case. Generally only a few family members visited the site on any given day, and if they did indeed visit, like Lena, they appeared to prefer visiting the memorial during evening hours when the majority of tourists had already left and the plaza felt empty. A volunteer staff member acknowledged that many family members tend to avoid "busy hours". He described the sense of strife many of the family members exhibit when trying to negotiate crowds with cameras and the need for moments of emotional solitude: "As soon as they do the rubbing [of names], that moment vanishes. Then they just get stared at" (field-notes, 8 December 2013).

Even though most visitors never really 'see a family member', the imagined '(en)acted memorial' seems nevertheless confirmed by the flowers, often a single white rose, that is left in a person's cut-out name. However, each morning, before the

memorial opens to the public, memorial staff places these roses to honour and celebrate a victim on their birthday. Each day of the year at least one birthday rose can be found at the memorial. A sign in the plaza explains the roses' meaning: "As a tribute, the 9/11 Memorial places roses upon victim's names on their birthdays". To a volunteer staff member I spoke with on site, the birthday roses were for family members rather than a tribute to the dead, stating, "in case someone can't make it they know they will always be remembered on their birthday, which I think is wonderful. Sometimes we send them a picture, too" (field-notes, 21 October 2013). In many ways this institutional practice aids the idea of an (en)acted memorial. The white birthday roses are one of the most popular motifs photographed at the site for two reasons. For one they provide a visual focal point in the numerous names and in turn slow and halt the spatial choreography of remembrance the memorial design provides. But these birthday roses also give the appearance of 'graves' that are visited and maintained regularly by loved ones.



Figure 21. A birthday rose

Although there are signs explaining the birthday roses' presence and who has placed them there, conversations amongst visitors and conversations with them revealed that this fact is often overlooked or ignored. Instead, an (en)acted memorial is imagined. The flowers are idealised and understood as proof and confirmations, that mourning family members are indeed here. Under this assumption other visitors at the memorial plaza are 'scanned' for identifying behaviours such as those performed by Lena, long lingering and the tactile caressing of a particular name, or other identifying actions such the bringing and leaving of material memorial objects and the making of name rubbings.



Figure 22. Sign explaining birthday roses

During my times at the memorial I witnessed some instances where the expressiveness of mourning family members was heightened through signifying attire, or the company of others in signifying attire. For instance, one time early in my fieldwork, two police officers escorted a mourning woman to a specific name at

the south pool and the parapets inscribed with the names of the first responder victims of the NYPD. It was a sombre, funeral-like procession. The woman was quietly emotional, much like Lena, caressing the name with gentle touch. Because she was flanked by uniformed members of the police force, a supporting cast if you will, the performed remembering was visually amplified as they stood out amongst the many. This situation of performed remembering, and many others like it, drew the looks of the visitors in the space, (re)confirming the very public nature of commemorative practices. Lena used the term ‘gawking’ when she talked about being at the memorial site, revealing that she was acutely aware of being looked at, stating “9/11 families have been gawked at since 9/11”. Harding (2004) describes the fluid interactions between actor and spectator, highlighting that the relationship is defined by “a suspension of the *ordinary* rather than a suspension of *reality* and thus constitutes more of a *heightening* of reality in which it is recognised that ordinary people can become extra-ordinary for a period of time” (Harding 2004: 198, emphasis in original).

The extra-ordinary status given was not always rooted in reality, however. There was also behaviour that was only presumed as mourning behaviour such as slow, contemplative walking and stopping and the lingering for long whiles at one particular spot, essentially a subscription to the memorial’s mission and spatial choreography (see Chapter 1). As my moving through the space was much of that, I too was approached several times while walking, observing and lingering at the memorial site. My contemplative state, my bodily performance, seemed to invite strangers’ gazes and conversations, and they wondered about my involvement and relationship to the memorial, only to leave disappointed when I had none, or at least not the type of connection they had imagined or hoped for. This actively being sought out was described by Lena during our sit-down interview:

Other people start looking at you when they know you are connected to one of the names. You try to make sure that you’re not putting on a performance. Because it’s really hard. You just want to be alone because sometimes you just can’t stop the tears, so they come. And I find myself quickly hiding

myself, because I don't want to be the focal point of someone's experience. I don't want a tourist taking a picture of me crying over my brother's grave. I know it's such a public moment, but I want it to remain private. And most people are very respectful. Some people actually come over and ask, which I find fascinating. Complete strangers. It's very reminiscent of what happened immediately after 9/11 where complete strangers offered you their love and support and hugs.

Through the different and very respectful treatment of family members, staff and security on site supported and enhanced the reluctant performance displayed by mourners. The institutionalised separation regarding the entrance procedures did the same. During my time at the memorial I had seen visitors follow subtly those they assumed had a personal connection of mourning to the site but less often approach. Sometimes they took photos of 'believed mourners', making them part of their visitor experience and their visitors' gaze. "To gaze is to enter a relational activity of looking" (Sturken and Cartwright 2009: 94) which is directly influenced and determined by relations of power and concepts of knowledge (Foucault 1976, 1984). Larsen and Urry (2011: 117) define gazing as a "relational, communal performance involving bodily and verbal negotiations and interactions". The tourist gaze "is not the property of individual sight" (Larsen and Urry 2011: 111), but is a learnt way of seeing, framed by social references (see Urry 1990, 1995; Berger 1990). This is aided by texts, visual and material identifiers (e.g. signs, emblems, staff, or properties). Here, the tourist gaze coincides with the gawking Lena described. Moreover, the gaze is fixed on a person performing her remembering in this shared space of remembrance. As such the memorial space provides a specific frame in which specific performances, ideally according to the desired script, occur. Visitors anticipated certain essential characters who are part of the 9/11 story, here the character of 'authentic' mourner, and at times sought them out even if the role played was just an assumption made by the visitor. Many visitors were more reserved, and reacted as if appalled by the photographing behaviours of others, including the taking of smiling selfies, perceived to be inappropriate and disrespectful. Nevertheless, the assumption of an (en)acted memorial persisted, as the distaste for inappropriate

behaviour was justified with notions of: “god forbid there is a family member right there” (Lucie and Ben, 20 October 2013).

The frames of the memorial and the 9-11 master narrative it provides suggests that family members in the space are by extension part of the dramaturgical script of the space itself, a stock-character of sorts, or more cynically, a memorial object rather than a person. I do not propose that Lena is an object of course, but that her performance serves a function similar to material offerings that are brought to or are left at public memorials and “give a physicality to the emotions of grieving; something to touch and see in substitution for the absence of life” (Collins and Opie 2010: 113). For Lena the touching, the tactile interaction and holding on, occurs with the memorial structure and the names of the dead rather than brought/ left objects. In the memorial space, memory objects are visual focal points aiding the spatial choreography of remembrance. They (re)present performative acts of remembering and mourning of friends or family visiting the memorial, as well as the institution. General visitors not seeking out a specific person in the sea of names wander around the pools at a slow pace but are prompted to stop at memorial tokens (flowers, little flags, coins, stones, notes and such) left with a particular name. It is these private yet public gestures performed by unseen others, by those who left the leave-behinds with a name, that induce the bodily participation of other visitors and their performing acts of bodily stillness. The leaving of material memory objects at a site of death is an intimate activity, one that physically (re)presents and recalls a relationship between the living and the dead (Hallman and Hockey 2001, Maddrell 2013). For one day an attempt is made to make present those who are absent, but also to give back individuality and personhood to a ‘nameless’ victim in the sea of the nearly 3000 victims of 11 September. These physical remains of such public/personal performances of ‘presencing’ are gazed at and photographed by visitor/audiences. In the 9/11 memorial space these materials are viewed as meaningful even though the actual act of leaving the tokens is not often observed by general visitor/audiences.

The white roses placed by staff members on a victim's birthday aid the memorial's intent to remember the dead in the same way. I never observed their placing. It occurs before the memorial opens to the public. Most days I did not see many personal commemorative objects left at the memorial. However, there was usually at least one birthday rose. Visitors did not draw a distinction between personal artefacts left by friends and family or the institutionally placed birthday roses. The presence of both categories of material memory objects slowed and stopped visitors' motion for a brief moment. Who placed them there and who took them away at the end of the day seemed of no concern. Through their presence, memory tokens bring to mind that these names represent people who once lived and are now mourned, but not of course all that the person was.

Lena provides a visual focal point for visitor/audiences through her bodily performing of remembrance at her brother's name etching. In the moment, I too was taken by her performance. When I took a step back and analysed my observations, it became clear that Lena's choreographed performance of remembrance is an artefact and memory object. In the space, Lena too functions as 'gifts of presence,' (Richardson 2001). Her performance aids the memorial's mission to remember the dead by means of actively doing her own remembering of the dead at the very site of trauma. In terms of the spatial dramaturgy, these gifts are less about the people who left them there, and more about the memory function they perform for the collective group of visitors 'finding' them in the space. The 'objects' break the material symmetry and magnitude of names lining the pools by providing a focal point which prompts a stopping of motion in other visitors, which in turn forms a temporal cluster-point in the mise-en-scene inviting others to halt as well. In that, physical markers represent someone no longer there, while someone is indeed performing presence, and invite the reflection of absence Michael Arad intended for with the memorial's title. Remembering the tokens, including Lena, brings back to the present something/ someone from the past. In that they are not filling a void left by absence as argued by Richardson (2001) but indeed highlight the absence. Lena is aware that she is performing something personal in the memorial space, the only space she can

perform remembering her dead brother in such a way. Even though she is condemned, so to speak, to perform in this way, it is precisely what brings her brother to the present in a collective sense as it highlights not only her, but also her dead sibling.

Lena has no choice. Her performing is tied to the memorial space, and she is constantly aware that her personal/ public gestures of mourning and remembering are expressive and occur in the co-presence of a spectating audience. Hindering a personal moment further is the fact that audience/visitors assume her presence and actively seek out her 'archetype' (of family member). In this sense Lena, who happens to be family member is assigned the role of family member by the audience, and so becomes part of the script, a stand-in character, in the play of remembrance.

4.2 Frederick and Mabel

The national 9/11 memorial in NYC (like Ground Zero before and the Twin Towers before that) functions as a tourist site. Place is altered and made by tourism. Coleman and Crang (2002) describe tourism as "an event that is about mobilizing and reconfiguring of spaces and places, bringing them into new constellations and therefore transforming them" (Coleman and Crang 2002: 10). The different functions of the site make it a fluid one, fluctuating in performance and meaning. The following case looks at the performances of typical characters, archetypes, found at the memorial space: tourists engaged in 'doing tourism' as well as 'doing remembrance'.

I visited the memorial with Mabel and Frederick the morning of 12 September 2013. Frederick, a life long navy man, is the father of a friend of mine, and he and his wife were visiting from out of town. Mabel too worked for a government agency, but as a civilian. They had arrived in New York two days before, and my friend had told me that they were going to visit the memorial. Both had dedicated much of their lives to

the country they served and being part of the US government's security forces was a defining characteristic and conviction of both. Accordingly, 11 September was an important and impactful day to them, so much so that they thought New Yorkers would surely 'do something' in honour of 9/11. My friend was as bewildered by this assumption as her father was by the fact that most New Yorkers did no such thing. Being so close to the anniversary, they were very keen on 'paying their respects'; in fact they had gotten their visitor passes online before they had even booked their flights. Via email-introduction and follow-up conversations I asked whether I could accompany them, and they agreed.

We had arranged to meet at the memorial's entrance. I did not know what they looked like and the entry area was packed with people, so many in fact that I worried whether we would be able to find each other. Eventually we managed to do so thanks to text messages and waving hands. Tall and straight-postured Frederick's military training was reflected in his bodily demeanour. The large lensed camera around his neck signified his status as tourist. They both greeted me with firm handshakes and warm smiles. Because of the enormous crowds clustering at the entryway, the area was chaotic and congested, resulting in me being assigned the role of guide charged with navigating us first through the maze of people, then the maze of the ticketing line. Although we had time-slotted passes the wait was particularly long which I attribute to the fact that it was the day after 9/11. On the anniversary the memorial was reserved for family members of the victims only and closed off to the general public. The day after was the closest day for those wanting to visit on the actual day of the attacks, and to remember at (former) Ground Zero. This was also the only day where the material memory objects left the previous day had not been removed by staff. Whereas the memorial institution was keen on providing the "same spatial canvas" for visitors throughout the year (high-ranking staff member, interview 27 August 2013), September 12 was an exception. The parapets were filled with flowers, little flags, plush animals, pictures, memorial wreaths and much more, evidencing that on the preceding day this had indeed been a place of 'authentic' mourning, and in turn presenting many a motif for Frederick's large-lensed camera.



Figure 23. Cluster-point at South Pool on 12 September 2013

Upon entering the plaza Frederick and Mabel took the anticipated walking route towards the first cluster-point at the south pool. They took their time to read each sign along the way. After taking in the first view of the memorial pool and capturing some pictures, they did break the expected choreography a little by walking north towards the second footprint instead of rounding the south pool. The museum pavilion to the right was ignored as Frederick's gaze and clicking camera was fixed on 1 WTC towering behind the north pool. We had agreed that I would shadow them rather than walk with them as not to impose on their experience and that we would talk afterwards. Asking them later about their choice of direction Frederick declared an infatuation with the Freedom Tower and discussed the symbolic meaning the new tower had to him. They considered 1 WTC part of the memorial and an essential

component, a key performer, in the narration and memorialisation of 9/11. To them the new tower represented a symbol of resilience, a material beacon announcing monumentally the message “you terrorists tried and failed!” Frederick and Mabel were not the only ones who expressed this sentiment and with it the understanding that the waterfalls and Freedom Tower work together in performing the two main components of the 9/11 narrative: terror/tragedy and defiance. Many people I observed and spoke with were engrossed with the tower, gazing and pointing at it, capturing its image with their cameras and phones while shaping and bending their bodies, sometimes kneeling or even laying on the floor, to insure both the tower and the memorial fit into the frame. When asked about the bodily ‘labour’ they engaged in, they stated how the tower “belongs here”, that the tower and memorial “just go together”, or that this was what the memorial was all about, a symbol of freedom and the often-used word ‘resilience’. Mabel and Frederick’s response, as well as their tower-centric walking direction, although slightly altered from the dramaturgy or choreography of the memorial space, hints at an acceptance of the intended script both in spatial terms and by subscribing to the political ideology so deeply entangled with the event.

This inclusion of the tower as part of the memorial and the subsequent interpretation of the space as a symbol of national strength coincides with a subscription to the 9/11 master narrative, which frames the story of the attacks as one of national trauma and national resilience. Shortly after the attacks the national narrative was already being defined, promoted and politically appropriated, and also accepted, officially at least.³¹ The guidelines for the memorial design competition required that in addition to recognising each victim of the terror attacks of 2001 and 1993, and to provide a peaceful and respectful environment for reflection, the memorial design was “to commemorate the resilience as well as the grieving of survivors, co-workers, neighbours, and citizens profoundly affected” (LMDC Competition Guidelines 2003: ‘Invitation to Compete’). The call for the recognition and representation of resilience

³¹Alternative and counter-narratives of 9/11 appeared in the public sphere shortly attacks, often in the form of conspiracy theories. These theories were generally dismissed and pushed to the peripheries. Although marginalized, Chapter 6 shows that truther movements are still very much alive.

as part of the principal site of the attack's remembrance illustrates how this negotiation has borne fruit on a national stage and how material and public representations of national remembrance serve present and future purposes (Vance 1997, Walkowitz and Knauer 2004, Hoskins 2007). By extension, this reflects the appropriation of national trauma for political purposes because “one way of dealing with loss is by attempting to turn tragedy into triumph” (Eyerman 2004: 161). On the national scale, this turning loss into triumph becomes one of turning loss into ‘national’ triumph’. Early on the commemorative narrative of 9/11 was presented as one of overcoming. The metaphor of a “phoenix rising from the ashes” (Lobo 2013; Lena used the same turn of phrase during our interview on May 6 2014) was often used to demonstrate defiance against “the people who did this” (Frederick), so (re)affirming the notion of resilience as part of the American spirit.



Figure 24. Visitor crouching for motif

Mabel and Frederick were firm believers in this framing of the attacks, and their bodily (en)acting of the site reflected it. Navigating the memorial plaza they took

their time at the north pool, and then separated to walk around the two waterfalls by themselves. Mabel slowly walked around the northern basin, while Frederick went back to the south pool, towards the panels inscribed with the victims of the Pentagon where he took many photos of the flowers left there. We reconvened near the survivor tree, and I answered many of their questions regarding the tree, its story and symbolism, which in turn led to a conversation about their impressions of this place of remembrance. They both thought the space was smaller than they had imagined, as if to say the magnitude of the event cannot be contained in a physical sense. Overall they were quite taken with the design, especially the water features and the acoustic soundscape the waterfalls created, and described their response to the memorial in almost cathartic terms. They had been to Ground Zero back in 2011, before the memorial had opened to the public. Back then the site was hidden behind fences and was more highly secured. There was nothing to see really, just construction. Both Gutman (2009) and Greenspan (2013) have discussed visitors' responses to 'gawking' at Ground Zero from the viewing platform, a temporary installation that had allowed pedestrians to gaze down into the 'pit' (also see Lisle 2004). Overwhelmingly the response to seeing a regular construction site, as opposed to an open wound reminiscent of a disaster zone, was described as a disappointment. Frederick used a different terminology. He recalled how angry he had been back then, angry that the attacks had happened and angry with the people who did this. Being at the site had brought back many of the negative emotions he had felt in 2001. Now, after visiting the memorial and seeing first hand the transformation from Ground Zero into a site of remembrance, his anger had been replaced with a sense of closure and peacefulness. It was now a "beautiful place", one that "honours and respects", and the respectful demeanour of the other visitors enhanced the sense of serenity he felt. Mabel agreed that others' considerate treatment of the site aided their positive response to the memorial, fulfilling a promise of permanence, the "promise to never forget". They responded well to what they perceived to be a shared sentiment amongst the visitors. This corresponds to a supposed or 'imagined' community (Anderson 1991), which speaks to a sense of national membership in light of national tragedy (and overcoming it). Held together by a shared sense of

identity, beliefs, values and norms the community is maintained across time and space through shared practices of remembering (Durkheim 2008 [1915]).



Figure 25. Visitor stretching for motif

The walking and talking with Mabel and Frederick was a typical tourist/visitor experience at Ground Zero. In their case the memorial successfully transmitted its intended message, as they interpreted it according to the script of both space and national master narrative. To them the place remembered the dead, was respected, and provided a place for the living to reflect. Furthermore, it represented, in conjunction with the Freedom Tower, a beacon of national strength and resilience. Like the majority of people visiting the memorial Mabel and Frederick were tourists travelling to New York from out of town or state, or another country. Like millions across the globe, they had witnessed the attacks in a mediated manner. On television sets and computer screens worldwide, planes crashed into the Twin Towers over and over again, a constant loop of loopy flight paths, violent impacts, fireball explosions and black smoke. Equally mediated were the days and weeks after the attacks, the political rhetoric, nationalist sentiments, the shock, disbelief and grief paralysing the country, the tireless search and rescue efforts, as well as the

impromptu acts of mourning and remembrance performed by grieving publics who gathered together in New York (and elsewhere), holding vigils and leaving flowers at public squares throughout the city. Images of seas of flowers and other memorialising objects left in tribute accompanied those of the thousands of handmade search flyers depicting photos and information of the missing that had been pinned on construction fences, lampposts, walls, bus and subway stations and elsewhere all across town. To many witnessing the aftermath from afar the horror and trauma of the attacks were synonymous with the grief and absence made visible in these performative acts. Being at the memorial the day after the anniversary of the attacks was different than all the other days I visited because of the abundance of material memory objects still on site from the ceremony held the previous day. There were the usual flowers and flags, but also other materials that were sentimental and touching, such as photos, letters and notes, or drawings made by children. These items were evocative of the memorialising tributes found all over the city in the autumn of 2001. For Frederick and his camera, the objects invited his tourist gaze and tourist behaviour.

Elements of embodied performance extend beyond the gaze (Perkins and Thorns 2001). Frederick, like most visitors to the memorial, took many photographs. He has an interest in photography and was keen on capturing “artistic” renderings of the memorial space. I watched him, as I had watched others, moving about the space and name parapets (re)positioning and (re)shaping his body again and again in an attempt to capture the chosen motifs³² in accordance with the aesthetic frame he desired. He tried forearms leaning on the parapets and upper body bent forward, on tippy toes with arms stretched high into the air, hunched down on his knees, or upright and camera tilted upwards. Exploring photographing behaviours of tourists at *Hammerhus Castel* in Denmark, Jonas Larsen (2005) illustrates that bodily movements and tactile interactions are both part of photographic gazing and are

³² My use of the term *motif* is much influenced by the German *motiv* in photography, which, similar to *mise-en-scene*, describes the object of focus, as well as its arrangement. Also included in my use of the term *motif* is an understanding rooted in film theory which views it as an element repeated in a significant way.

indicators of significant social relations. He illustrates this through examples of photographers' leaning, hunching, or stretching in order to capture the *perfect* mise-en-scene, and tactile engagement (e.g. handholding, sideling or embracing) amongst those being photographed. Larsen makes important observations about bodily interactions amongst performers at tourist sites. However, Frederick did not take photos of his wife, which deems it important to include the bodily engagement with a site and structure itself, and the social significance associated with its symbolic meaning, a notion Larsen neglects. Architects, when designing spaces are aware of the body in space and contemplate how architectural structures impact, control and invite bodily movements (Yudell 1977). The 9/11 memorial is designed to be *sensed* and to be *moved through*. Through its design it choreographs movement while simultaneously being viewed as a performing character itself. Accordingly, the main motif, the lead characters if you will, were the memorial and the Freedom Tower.

Performance is 'doing', in Mabel and Frederick's case a doing of tourism, and to do requires a bodily involvement. Larsen and Urry (2011) build on the ideas of performance, especially Goffman's dramaturgy, and explore how 'tourist gaze' is constructed through a collection of signs that exceed visual stimuli and is therefore embodied. The dramaturgical approach encompassed certain key characteristics that highlight the interrelatedness of all senses: performance is an action that is experienced through bodily senses, it explores how places are materially and symbolically staged and (en)acted, and how performances are scripted, choreographed and maintained.

Tourists are not fixed but can alternate between different roles. Bodies are simultaneously written upon or performed and performing ... tourists decode past texts but also are part of creating new ones through on-going interactions and performances with other tourists, guides, discourses, buildings and objects. (Larsen and Urry 2011: 113)

Larsen and Urry's statement underscores that Mabel and Frederick are social and embodied actors and as such are always audience *and* performers, are consumers *and* producers of place and meaning. This further positions them as more than mere tourists. They are indeed audience/visitors, spect-actors watching, seeing and participating in the play of remembrance at Ground Zero.



Figure 26. Viewing the viewfinder

“In seeing acting we are also acting seeing” Fenemore (2007: 5) states. In this sense Mabel and Frederick perform seeing and perform the role of audience. Indeed, Fenemore continues, “the act of spectating is a fundamentally spatial act, and will propose a speculative guide to the pleasures of performative and spectatorial objectification in performance practice. ... space itself might be responsible for the construction of performers’ and spectators’ bodies as objects” (Fenemore 2007: 5). In the case of the 9/11 memorial the space is laden with the memory of the event and its commemorative master narrative. Mabel and Frederick show that the construction and performance of (bodily) spectatorship builds much on the story that is informing the space of public memory. Space and remembrance together influence Mabel and Frederick’s performance as seeing visitor/audience, their spectatorship.

“Spectators” according to Jürs-Munby (2009: 24-5), “have to become active co-creators bringing their own memories and creating their own referential connections. In this sense, to an extent, they also inevitably rely on the heavily mediated and even dramatized representations that they themselves tend to eschew”. Frederick’s photographic frames of choice illustrate this notion. During our conversation near the survivor tree I asked whether he would show me some of the pictures he had taken in the viewfinder of his digital camera. In his images Frederick had captured the waterfalls, 1 WTC, the parapets and the many flowers and flags anchored in the cut-out names. The images showed the spatial choreography at work and how it was aided by material memorial objects left on site. The objects provided visual focal points enticing him to slow and halt his motion in order to take a two dimensional momento. There was an artistic quality in his staging of the *mise-en-scene*. I noted his interest in reflections as many of the photos depicted this theme: reflections of people and flowers in the name panels, flags reflected in buildings, and, one he was quite pleased with, a plane’s reflection in a high-rise office building. When prompted about this particular photo he talked much about the extraordinary circumstance of capturing a plane at the exact moment. During my observations of visitors and their photographing behaviours I had often seen, heard and overheard them taking and then presenting their photos with similar imagery and terminology. A plane flying over the 9/11 memorial seemed to capture visitors’ attention and imagination. Shortly after commencing my fieldwork, I had started to mimic visitor’s bodily motions in attempt to see what they saw from their vantage points and at times capture photographically what they had captured. Because of this tactic I knew that Frederick’s “extraordinary” image was a fairly common occurrence because planes flying over the plaza is a very common event. In addition to the photo of a plane’s reflection he had shown me in his viewfinder, I had seen other variations of the same theme, some less artistic, which depicted a plane about to fly by or ‘into’ 1 WTC. Incorporating planes into their photographing of the memorial, and with that their memorialising of their experience of the memorial, visitors are clearly referencing the impactful event of 11 September. These images were explained as an astonishing moment of coincidence and proudly presented by the photographers with “wow, look at this shot” and “what are the odds”, even though, were they to observe the plaza

longer, they would realize the moment was not unique. What mattered most was the having had seen it happen.

The performing as seeing visitor/audience includes the intricately entwined relationship between space (of memory), bodily movements, remembrance and the preservation of what was seen, or what was imagined to have been seen, via photographs. Frederick and Mabel perform the fairly typical ‘characters’ of tourist who in their doing of remembrance become visitor/audiences. They (en)act their role according to a recognisable repertoire of bodily gestures and behaviours, including the taking of pictures. Their performances do not usually draw the gazes of other spectators in the way Lena’s performance does because they perform in accordance with the dramaturgical script of remembrance put forth by the memorial design.

4.3 Oliver

The two previous cases, Lena and Mabel and Frederick, have put the spotlight on performances of actors and audiences who followed the dramaturgical script of remembrance put forth by the 9/11 memorial (and by extension the commemorative master narrative). They performed and (en)acted according to its intended mission and purpose. They reflected upon and remembered the event, and placed absence into social and/ or national contexts. However, the memorial’s dramaturgical script was not universally subscribed to and sometimes outright rejected by visitors. The following case of Oliver discusses how resistance to official public remembering, an ‘acting out’, is also performed.

Like many of the New Yorkers I know, Oliver had never visited the 9/11 memorial. We knew each other from college but had not seen each other for many years and only reconnected recently at a mutual friend’s wedding. As a resident of the West Village in Manhattan he had witnessed the towers’ collapse from the roof of his building, about two miles north of the Twin Towers. He had spent the days and

weeks after the attacks volunteering, first at a hospital in his neighbourhood handing out blankets. On the 11th itself, after the attacks, Oliver had walked to a hospital ready to donate blood or do whatever else was needed for the thousands of injured expected to arrive. By nightfall medical staff and volunteers had realized that no one was coming. Most people had evacuated the towers fairly unscathed (physically at least), or were dead or missing. Feeling a need to “do something” he handed out food and water to rescue crews and later joined a group of volunteers at *Point Thank You*, a spot at the Westside Highway and Christopher Street, holding up signs thanking and encouraging the workers heading to Ground Zero (see Chapter 6). Twelve years later he agreed to (re)visit the Ground Zero with me, declaring, “Yeah. I really should go see it”. We went, and he hated it.

I met up with Oliver at the memorial’s entrance at Greenwich and Albany Streets. It was the 17th of September 2013, just a few days after the anniversary, and we anticipated long waits in the ticketing line. It was a sunny day, warm but not hot, with a crisp blue sky, which generally meant an increase of tourists visiting the site. Hence, we were rather pleased when, despite the usual crowds of people, there was barely any wait, and we were able to enter the memorial plaza swiftly. To my surprise Oliver’s walking pace did not slow once we walked in, but actually accelerated. Unlike most other visitors I had observed or walked with, he did not take a moment to orient himself in the environment, instead dashing forward in long strides while looking up and down and around in rapid, staccato-like motions, repeatedly proclaiming, “Oh shit! What is this? What is this?” Trying to keep up with his pace I followed him to the cluster-point at the first memorial pool’s south west corner. His eyes were fixated on the water pouring down and disappearing into the second square drop at the basin’s centre. Although he initially followed the suggested footpaths of the space by moving straight towards the south pool, he deviated quickly from the spatial choreography by first moving left then right, then left again, and stopping and turning in a rather erratic manner. Furthermore, his swiftness contradicted the unhurried wanderings usually observed in the staged environment. His walking speed and stoppings were not induced by the memorial design, the

memorial objects or victim's names as it had been with the other cases discussed here. His interaction with the site provoked different navigations, paths that followed no particular pattern. According to Allsopp and Lepecki (2008: 3) any "choreography initiates, immediately and alongside its project, all sorts of resistance and counter-moves, anti and counter- and meta- and conceptual- and carnal-choreographies". Oliver's unexpected and divergent navigation of the memorial plaza suggests that such anti-choreography was taking place. There was a sense of disorientation in his manoeuvring of the space as he kept walking rapidly along the name parapets, stopping at times to touch them and the water underneath, just to whizz away again, around the south pool and towards the northern footprint.

The conversation during our sit-down interview immediately after our visit shed light on Oliver's irregular moving about the space and confirmed this perceived sense of disorientation. When describing his response to the plaza he repeatedly expressed how the openness of the memorial space had caught him off guard, stating, "I don't remember the first thing I saw. But I didn't expect it to be so open", then,

I didn't expect the openness, the openness of it all. Because it had been such a closed in space with the two towers there. You were in a plaza, but there were two giant structures around you. The sky was gone. Here it was so open,

and later, "I was seeing this huge, open space and I didn't expect that, and the openness of that and the light". Referenced here are his memories of how the space used to be before the attacks. A site of memory, the memorial indeed induced remembering in an active way, not only about the event but also how things used to be.

Oliver's remembering the space as it was before the transformative event and his subsequent being disoriented by its current, altered state suggests that remembrance

manifests in physical, bodily terms and exceeds time. The Twin Towers had been an orienting marker visible throughout the city. He described how after 9/11

there was nothing there. And was just a big black, well not black, but just an empty hole in the skyline. That I just hated. I hated seeing that. You know, my first fifteen years in NY – not quite but almost – no this is '86, so whatever that math is, that was: if you came out of the subway, that's how you got your directions, you looked for the twin towers "oh that's downtown, I need to go uptown", or wherever. Because you couldn't always see the Empire State Building, but you could ALWAYS see the Twin Towers. So when they were gone, your compass was all off. So I think it was about denial for a long time.

Trauma is often framed as a moment of rupture that divides time into a before and after, and which may cause a shattering of one's sense of stability in the world, resulting in a state of (temporal) disorientation (Alexander 2004). Although rationally (and from a physical distance) comprehended, the towers' absence at 'their' site brought back to the present emotions and feelings of instability similar to those experienced during the immediate aftermath. The initial sense of displacement upon entering the plaza resulted in the performance of counter-choreography. Remembering the before in the present state of after induced and produced an alternative sequence of movements, rapid and impulsive versus slow and contemplative. Emotions are "given form in movement, form which is dynamic and spatial" Preston-Dunlop (1998: 51) proposes. The physicality displayed by Oliver reflected his tumultuous emotional state.

Dramaturgically speaking, Oliver's physical and emotional disorientation can be understood as a state of turbulence, a term that is used by Eugenio Barba (2000) in his treatise on dramaturgy, understood by him as a process occurring in preparation of a theatrical event. However, as performances are always 'in-process', and dramaturgical efforts are always audience-centric, Barba's explorations are useful in unpacking Oliver's everyday life performance and his out-of-the-norm (re)actions to

the space. Barba (2000: 60) identifies three types, or faces, of dramaturgy: (1) *organic or dynamic dramaturgy*, “which is the composition of the rhythms and dynamisms affecting the spectators on nervous, sensorial and sensual level”, (2) *narrative dramaturgy*, “which interweaves events and characters, informing the spectators on the meaning of what they are watching”, and (3) *dramaturgy of changing states*, “when the entirety of what we show managed to evoke something totally different”. Whereas the first two dramaturgies represent an orderly script and cohesion of choreographed remembrance as performed by Lena and Frederick and Mabel, the third, dramaturgy of changing states, holds answers to the unexpected disorder displayed by Oliver. In a performance this particular dramaturgy “distils or captures hidden significances, which are often involuntary on the part of the actors as well as the director, and are different for every spectator” (Barba 2000: 60). Furthermore, this third face of dramaturgy frames “performance as a physical and sensorial event” (Barba 2000: 62). According to Barton (2005) it is precisely the notion of physicality wherein lies the advantage of Barba’s dramaturgical approach, and especially the dramaturgy of changing states. Unlike working from and through text-based, written scripts, bodily work and processes hold the potential of physical discovery in a physical environment. Acknowledged here is the relationship between body, space and mind that is essential in the performance process. The relationship can be applied to Oliver’s physical performing and discovering, his doing of remembrance at the memorial space.

The anti-choreography and turbulence exhibited by Oliver was not limited to a disruption of motion but also emotion because the memorial troubled him deeply. He had hoped for a positive, possibly cathartic experience in and of the space. Instead, he felt utterly disturbed by the design. When I asked him about his initial reaction to the memorial he expressed his violent response:

I didn’t expect it to be so open ... But my first reaction was the water and that enormous square. And then the hole [*he’s referring to the second square drop in the centre of the pools*]. I really just don’t like that hole. That giant hole in the middle. I think that’s what surprised me the most. And seeing

two of them. Yeah. It just looks like a hole down to hell. And for me that freaked me out. It was like seeing a snake. It was like seeing something visceral. Like I'd see in a bad dream. So that's what I didn't expect, so that's I think why I was so shocked.

In Oliver's case the rejection of choreography coincided with a rejection of the conceptual message and dramaturgy the memorial intends to perform. His disorientation was experienced in both spatial and emotional terms. Due to the configuration of the space, bodies are moved horizontally (moving around the memorial plaza) and vertically (tilting and stretching to look up at the Freedom Tower and down into the memorial pools). The vertical motion represents corporally the dichotomy of mourning and hope, present and past, remembering and forgetting. Oliver's bodily movements were an outward reflection of his feelings of disorientation and discomfort, as well as the state of mental puzzlement he could not quite grasp. The architectural space induced an emotional discomfort by bringing forth negative memories and (re)revealing feelings of disorientation in the wake of turbulence. Experiencing the memorial place with mind and body left him in a state of confusion which is illustrated in the following dialogue excerpt from our interview:

O: I didn't realise that the water came that close. I thought that was great. I liked that. I LOVE the water fountain part of it and the square... just – I'm gonna have nightmares about that hole. It's in my head – a black hole in my brain. I hate that. Well, I don't hate it – no, I hate it!

M: You said you would have liked something up?

O: Yeah. My vision kept going up. I kept remembering that you looked up at those buildings and even from my roof I looked across, but I still looked up at the buildings. And I kept thinking all the people were up. And that hole made me think 'they had to crash down. They had to come this horrifically long,

awful, awful distance' ... and I didn't like that. I didn't like being reminded of that. And up is hopeful, you know, you look up to heaven, in traditional sort of body language, and down is sad and mournful. So I wanted to look up. So I don't know. I thought at one point, if I had been in charge of designing a memorial what I would have come up with. But my instinct is to go up. And have everyone look up at something.

M: Are you a religious person?

O: No. No, I think it's a physical thing, looking at the sky. Again, it was a beautiful day. But you looked up and saw the planes hit. So it was still part of looking up and remembering, rather than down into this black hole. I don't understand the symbolism of that. For me, that was very disturbing.

While Oliver would have wanted a memorial that represented hopefulness by drawing his gaze upward, he was grappling with the dilemma that 'up' brought forth violent memories in him. 1 WTC did not fulfil that function (as it did for Mabel and Frederick), because to him the replacement tower was not part of the memorial. His motion and emotion and subsequent experience and interpretation of the space lead to a physical and conceptual digression regarding what and how he remembered in this place of remembrance. This is described by Barba (2000) who discusses physicality in performance work that can potentially have

unforeseeable and extremely personal consequences, both sensorial and mental. This leap from one context to another is a perturbation, a change in the quality of energy, which produces a double effect: enlightenment or a sudden vortex that shatters the security of comprehension and is experienced as turbulence...Turbulence appears to be a violation of order; in fact it is order in motion. It engenders vortexes that upset current narrative action. (Barba 2000: 60-1)

The space induced memories which in turn resulted in a violent reaction and outright rejection of the memorialisation of 9/11 and Ground Zero. Oliver's performance showed how "memory resists strict choreography" as it "alters fundamental categories that are often taken as stable and destabilizes them: time and space and the animate and the inanimate are the prime examples" (Freeman, Nienass and Daniell 2016: 4). To Oliver the experience was negative and disturbing because he felt that it not only triggered memories but also altered them. Time and space presented him with the unexpected. When I asked him about what the memorial did for him he elaborated:

It brought back all the memories I had. Of the neighbourhood, when it was a vibrant neighbourhood, and I was working down there. And the day of, and all that day and all the days and stuff around it. ... But at the moment, I'm gonna remember that black hole. [laughs]. And I don't know what that means. What's that supposed to remind me of? It's changed my memory... of that space. Because I remember, as I said, these streams of workers coming out of there every day going to lunch. And I was trying to hand them my little job, hand them cards or t-shirts or whatever I was doing. So it was alive. It was real. It was a day-to-day existence. And it was up. It was up. And now I think of it as down and in a dark hole. So I felt like I looked into a grave. I've been looking into two enormous graves. ... So maybe that's the point. Maybe I can make that work for me. But at the moment I'm gonna have a nightmare of it. [laughs].

Interesting here is that he referred to his former place of work as "down *there*" despite the fact that we were in indeed 'down *here*' during our interview. Oliver's turn of phrase is suggestive of a state of both temporal and spatial disassociation, a disconnect between the 'what was here' versus 'what was here now', the past and the present. By rejecting the performance of the space and creating a mental and linguistic distance to it, Oliver positions himself as a spectator, who, as discussed previously, is agentic.

Addressing the work of De Marinis, Bial (2004) points out that “while many performances contain some self-conscious demarcation of a beginning and ending ... ultimately [however, it is] the judgement of the analyst (i.e. the spectator) which determines the boundaries of the performance events” (Bial 2004: 215). Fenemore (2003), writing about ‘the moved body’, “acknowledges the unproblematic performing experience of being moved, and goes on to argue that such an experience can also be activated in spectators, whereby they can experience performance through bodily negotiation, rather than through primarily visual or discursive consumption” (Fenemore 2003: 108). The memorial space scripts remembering in a communicative manner, performing spatially, sensory and emotionally the narrative of 9/11. The performances (acting and spect-acting) of Mabel and Frederick and Lena are emblematic of archetypal characters of ‘tourists’ and ‘family member’ who are expected to be found in the space. Their performing/ spectating in the space is in accordance with this dramaturgical and spatial script. On the other side is Oliver whose performance was spect-acting an alternative version of the script.

In his performance, Oliver demonstrates that he is an ‘emancipated spectator’ (Rancière 2007) who interprets the space, the script, and the choreographed dramaturgy on his own terms. Describing his concept of emancipated spectator Rancière concludes that while

The dramaturge would like [the spectators] to see this thing, feel that feeling, understand this lesson of what they see, and get into that action in consequence of what they have seen, felt, and understood. He proceeds from ... the presupposition of an equal, undistorted transmission ... Emancipation starts from the opposite principle, the principle of equality. It begins when we dismiss the opposition between looking and acting and understand that the distribution of the visible itself is part of the configuration of domination and subjection. It starts when we realise that looking is also an action that conforms or modifies that distribution, and the interpreting the world is already a means of transforming it, or reconfiguring it. The spectator is active ... he observes, he selects, he compares, he interprets. ... she participates in the performance if she is able to tell her own story about the story that is in front of her. Or, if she is able to undo the

performance – for instance, to deny the corporal energy that it is supposed to convey (Rancière 2007: 277).

After Oliver's interview had concluded and the tape was turned off, he told me of a "little ritual" he engages in each year on the anniversary of the attacks (when he is in town that is). Each year he goes up to his roof to gaze downtown where the towers once stood, first the void, then the early stages of rebuilding and reclaiming of the empty sky. When he can he takes a photo like he did in 2001. This anecdote of (re)enactment of remembrance shows that Oliver's resistance at the memorial was actually not a rejection of remembering 9/11, but rather a rejection of its official narrative and the version the *lieux de mémoire* performs. He rejected the enforced looking down, the 'turbulent' inability to see the bottom of the second waterfall basin, and the forced shaping of his body into a particular performance. Rancière's (2007) emancipated spectator observes, selects, interprets and compares. Because of these activities Oliver has made a choice against the official public memory performed by the memorial, instead preferring to perform vernacularly his own kind of remembering.

Bial (2004: 215) points out that performances are never static or finished products but instead "are always in-process, changing, growing and moving through time". The bodily (en)acting of Lena, Frederick and Mabel and Oliver have highlighted the in-process remembering performed by them at the 9/11 memorial. Their doing of memory confirms Bial's assessment of performance, an assessment easily be transferred to the concept of public remembering, that it too is malleable and subject to temporal and spatial configurations. Performance, like remembering, entails a negotiation between the creators (authors, designers, directors, actors who themselves are also engaged in negotiation) and the agentic audiences partaking in the performance (Schechner 2003).

This chapter examined the (co)performances of three ‘types’ of characters found at the 9/11 memorial: family members, tourists and locals. At the memorial Lena very seriously, personally and ostensibly went about her remembering, while always being aware that she was on stage and observed by spectators acutely interested in her performance. Because visitor/audiences expect family members in the space, Lena has become a public good, a kind of memory object. Lena’s case highlights the relationship between performer and spectator in the setting of remembrance. The tourists Frederick and Mabel visited the memorial following the tourist script, subscribing to its dramaturgy of remembrance. In this they are not actors in the same sense as Lena, who in the spectators’ view was part of the scripted *mise-en-scene*. Their example demonstrates that their type of performing is not fixed and can shift from tourist to seeing visitor/audience. Their performance of seeing adds to the (co)performing at and of the 9/11 memorial. Oliver’s performance was one of acting out. The outright rejection of the memorial manifested physically in the form of counter-choreography. Oliver’s case illustrates that public memory is not always subscribed to or interpreted according to the dramaturgy intended by the designer and producers of the space. Furthermore his performance was one of resistance to the kind of public remembrance presented at the 9/11 memorial. The performances observed in the setting of the national 9/11 memorial have shown how the scripted environment (re)presents a dramaturgy of remembrance that both benefits and interrupts the corporal (en)acting of performers in the space. The performances observed in the setting of the national 9/11 memorial have shown how the scripted environment (re)presents a dramaturgy of remembrance that both benefits and interrupts the corporal (en)acting of performers in the space. The performance analysis applied to the ‘archetypical’ everyday life remembrances taking place at the memorial has highlighted that performances within the official, physical manifestation of the commemorative master-narrative can also reveal vernacular counter performances that may shift complex boundaries and indeed the commemorative narratives itself. The cases have shown that public remembrance and its performances are multiple, a notion that will be explored further in the context of the mobile remembrance of two commemorative walking and running events in the following chapter.

Chapter 5. Remembering in Motion: Commemorative Walks and Runs

Cultural performances are ... occasions in which as a culture or society we reflect upon and define ourselves, dramatize our collective myths and history, present ourselves with alternatives, and eventually change in some ways while remaining the same in others. (MacAloon 1984: 1)

Public memory and remembering is often linked with physical memorial structures and a going to a *lieux de memoire* (Nora 1989). This implies the notion of spatial stability, of a set stage on which remembering is (en)acted, acted on/in or, as seen in the previous chapter, acted out. However, as noted by Goffman (1991), settings do not necessarily have to be fixed to a particular location, although they often are, for example at the 9/11 memorial. Rather, settings have the potential to be mobile. Goffman provides a funeral procession as example. Processions are fundamentally social in that they are groups of people acting publically for a shared purpose and are bodies moving together in the same direction, in an organized or choreographed manner. In some situations in particular, for instance the reaffirming of solidarity or national cohesion, they are profoundly performative doings because they take place in front of bystanders spect-acting the moving bodies passing by. Whereas the previous chapter explored performed remembering as it occurs on the stage of the National 9/11 memorial, this chapter is concerned with other types of public remembering taking place elsewhere in New York City, performances that are not tied to a material, fixed location, but instead entails the ‘moving’ through the streets of Manhattan. Through a discussion of two commemorative events, the *Father Mychal Judge 9/11 Walk of Remembrance* and the *Tunnel to Towers 5K Run & Walk*, I will show how these performances of remembrance are scripted rituals and (re)enactments that perform the politicised national commemorative master narrative of 9/11 by assigning idealised character roles. I will demonstrate how narratives privileging the national version of the attacks are not strictly bound to its official,

spatial, representation. Indeed, these performances beyond the official site, while commemoratively and politically malleable, solidify and reaffirm strongly the belief in the politicised national commemorative master narrative of 9/11 and the nation (and its national myths) itself. I will do so by describing the two events narratively, then addressing how the two protagonist-characters of the runs are scripted and moulded as mythic and heroic archetypes to fit within the larger national/ political context of the official commemorative narrative. Lastly, I will address the physicality of (re)enacting emotive remembrances within these scripted frames.

5.1 Father Mychal Judge and Stephen Siller

Each year, usually in September and early October, New York City becomes the stage for an array of public events commemorating 9/11. There are arts and music performances, readings and public lectures dedicated to memory of the day. Others are of ‘physical’ nature, such as the *Annual 9/11 Memorial & Museum 5K Run/Walk*, a fundraising event organised by the memorial foundation or the annual *Stair Climbs* which pay tribute to the New York City firefighters by climbing the equivalent of the 110 stories of the Twin Towers.³³ In this chapter I focus on two such physical events, the *Father Mychal Judge 9/11 Walk of Remembrance* in which I participated, and the *Tunnel to Towers 5K Run & Walk* for which I was a spectator. The walking/ running events are dedicated to the remembrance of two individuals, each with a compelling story, Mychal Judge and Stephen Siller, who have been identified as noteworthy characters in the 9/11 “trauma drama” (Eyerman 2004). Both were members of the Fire Department of New York City (FDNY) and died at Ground Zero. Both have become symbolic archetypes, leading *dramatis personae*, in the performed remembrance of 11 September, beyond the fences of the 9/11 memorial.

Their stories in brief: On the morning of 11 September FDNY Chaplain Father Mychal Judge rushed from the Franciscan friary on 31st Street to the burning World

³³ The Stair Climbs are organised by various groups and foundations across the US. Amongst them are the *New York City Firefighter Stair Climb* and the *9/11 Memorial Stair Climb* organised by the 9/11 National Fallen Firefighters Foundation.

Trade Centre to offer spiritual assistance and last rites. Struck by falling debris in the lobby of the North Tower caused by the collapsing South Tower, Father Mychal was the first fatality of the attacks to be recovered and identified after his dead body was taken to *St. Peter's Church* and laid out before the altar. His body was the first to be certified by the coroner, marking him "victim 0001" in the long list of 9/11 casualties. He was also one of the first victims to have a funeral (McFadden 2001).³⁴ Stephen Siller was a New York City firefighter stationed in Brooklyn. Despite being off-duty as the first plane hit the Twin Towers, he decided to help, trying to reach lower Manhattan via the Brooklyn Battery Tunnel.³⁵ By the time he arrived at the tunnel, however, the city's emergency procedures had been implemented, and all tunnels and bridges were closed. Strapping on his 60-pound firefighter gear,³⁶ Siller ran on foot through the gridlocked tunnel traffic towards the burning towers. He died at the World Trade Centre; his remains were never found.

Both annual memorial events are bodily (re)enactments of route and movement, stand alone performances that fit into the master narrative, which is why were chosen to be highlighted in this thesis. Although considerably different in size and character, both commemorative (re)enactments follow a similar pattern. Each route promotes a retracing of Father Mychal's and Stephen Siller's final steps, from Midtown Manhattan to the WTC, and Brooklyn to the WTC respectively. Corresponding city roads were formally closed to traffic by police cars and fire trucks, allowing participants to move freely on New York's otherwise busy avenues and streets. Father Mychal's 6.4 km long walk began where he began, at the Engine 1/ Ladder 24 Firehouse on 31st Street right across the Franciscan friary. It then went down 7th Avenue towards the new tower of 1 WTC, stopping at firehouses and police precincts along the way for short prayers and blessings. The walk concluded with a prayer ceremony at St. Peter's Roman Catholic Church (the church where the

³⁴ His funeral was on 15 September 2001 at St. Francis of Assisi Church in Midtown Manhattan. A high-profile event, some 3000 mourners were in attendance, including Bill and Hillary Clinton.

³⁵ Since 2012 the tunnel has been renamed *Hugh Carey Tunnel*.

³⁶ The weight is based on the information provided by the *Stephen Siller Tunnel to Tower Foundation* website, available at: <http://tunnel2towers.org/stephens-story/> (Accessed 17 March 2015). However, the weight changes depending on who one asks.

chaplain's dead body was laid out) at Barkley Street, one block east of the 9/11 memorial (see Appendix 3).

Stephen Siller's run started in Red Hook, Brooklyn. The 5km long route lead through the Battery Tunnel into Manhattan, along West Street towards the Freedom Tower, then looped around Battery Park City, and ended back at West Street just north of the memorial (see Appendix 4). Over the years Siller's Tunnel to Towers run has grown into a massive fund-raiser, attracting an estimated 30,000 participants.³⁷ Additional Tunnel to Tower runs are organised elsewhere in the country. The New York event is the largest and most high-profile spectacle. Food and music entertainment are featured at both the starting and finishing lines, and local television stations broadcast live on location. It is the largest and most prominent vernacular event in the public remembrance of 11 September in New York. 'Vernacular' is used here following Bodnar (1993), referring to public memorialising practices occurring regionally which are potentially focused on alternative subjects and narratives, as opposed to official, governmentally sponsored commemorations perpetuating patriotic sentiment. However, in the context of the two running/walking events discussed here, Bodnar's distinction is less rigid in practice than he proposes. While both events are not official governmental commemorations, they are supported by official bodies and are welcomed as part of the master narrative.

The question is why Judge and Siller are such featured 'characters' in the officially sanctioned commemorative narrative of 11 September, their deaths more noteworthy and performable? For one, their stories are captivating, entailing a dramatic plot: a likable, tragic hero rising to the occasion in a moment of a national crisis, saving the lives of others while sacrificing his own. Secondly, both Judge and Siller were members of the New York City Fire Department, designated heroes of 9/11. But to understand how they have become successful representations of 'good' victims

³⁷ Available at: <http://www.brooklynpaper.com/stories/38/40/dtg-bb-tunnel-to-tower-2015-10-02-bk.html> (Accessed 23 March 2015).

(good as in having good moral character/ doing the right thing) and are good examples for others to aspire to, they and their corresponding events must also be placed in context of the national, uniquely American, commemorative narrative of 11 September.

Mychal's walk

On the morning of 8 September 2013, I made my way up to 31 Street to participate in the twelfth *Father Mychal Judge 9/11 Walk of Remembrance*. In the early years, only a handful of people participated in this walk. Since then the number of walkers has grown steadily.³⁸ As Father Mychal was a catholic priest the event was rooted much in religious, specifically Christian, ritual and iconography. Accordingly, the walking event was preceded by a rosary prayer and a catholic mass at St. Francis of Assisi Church, which is attached to the Franciscan friary across the street from the fire station. The church was crowded with people. I immediately noticed the rather casual outfits worn at this Sunday mass, t-shirts, shorts, trainers and the like. Usually people dress formally for Sunday mass. The t-shirt designs made obvious that most attendees were here for the walk. The shirts were printed with signifying messages and images such as the phrase "Remembering Father Mychal Judge", an image of Mychal's fire chaplain helmet, or words of Mychal's last homily, which he had made on 10 September 2001.³⁹ The words of the homily were arranged circularly, either around a Celtic cross, or around the silhouette of the Twin Towers emblazoned by a waving US American flag in the background, the latter being the most popular. The popularity of this particular image indicates how even in religious contexts, 9/11 is constructed and represented as a collective national tragedy. The t-shirts also depicted Mychal's birth and death dates.

³⁸ There is no registration to participate, therefore there are no official numbers. Based on my observation, I estimate there were some 300 attendees.

³⁹ "No matter how big the call. No matter how small. You have no idea what God is calling you to. But He needs you. He needs me. He needs all of us". The shirts are made by mychalsmessage.org, a non-profit organisation dedicated to the continuation of Father Mychal's work.

After the mass, the walkers gathered across the street at the Engine 1/ Ladder 24 firehouse on 31st Street. Coffee, cake and water were served inside the garage. It quickly became apparent that most participants knew each other. They were family, friends, co-workers with close ties to the FDNY, and some were active firefighters. Entire families took part in the event, including children pushed in prams, all wearing the same uniform-like attire. After an initial speech and blessing, the group began walking down 7th Avenue trailing behind a ceremonious vintage fire truck hoisting a massive American flag. The south-bound lane had been closed off to traffic. Walking in a procession through the canyon of skyscrapers in the middle of an avenue gave a unique vantage point for both walkers and passersby: one saw and was seen; there was no doubt that ‘we’ were engaged in a public performance.

The procession blurred the lines between secular and religious symbolism. A banner depicting the Twin Towers framed by Father Mychal’s smiling face on the left and the *World Trade Center Cross*⁴⁰ on the right, announced the purpose of this “Walk of Remembrance”. At each prayer stop at police precincts and firehouses, uniformed police and firefighters stood as a guard of honour, saluting as the names of the dead of each respective station were read out loud and active members were blessed and thanked for their services. The walking procession and prayer stops can be likened to the *Via Crucis*, the Stations of the Cross, which in Christian tradition represents Jesus’ final path before and after dying on the cross, from his fearful prayer in the Garden of Gethsemane to his dead body being buried in the tomb.⁴¹ The fourteen stations that comprise the passion of Christ are depicted in most roman catholic churches and are frequently (re)enacted in good Friday processions. At these publicly staged, ‘live’ dramatizations of Jesus’s final steps, wooden crosses are carried from station to station at which prayers are held and psalms are sung. On a practical note these stops also allow the bearers of the cross a moment of rest as in the original

⁴⁰The *World Trade Center Cross* is a steel structure, a remaining cross beam of the Twin Towers. It was found in the rubble of Ground Zero a few days after the attacks. Representing a Christian symbol, the cross was quickly appropriated by recovery workers and the American public, becoming a shrine and symbol of hope. After many moves, controversy and a lawsuit, the cross is now permanently housed at the 9/11 Museum.

⁴¹ There is a theological debate about the Stations of the Cross. Alternative versions begin with the last supper and conclude with Jesus’ resurrection.

walk where Jesus paused on his final route. At Father Mychal's walk, the prayer stations at police precincts and firehouses also provided welcome moments of rest for the participants. Although there was no actual heavy symbol carried through the streets, it was a hot and sunny day, and there were many elderly and children among the walkers. Retracing steps in a slow procession for nearly four hours was not an easy task for all.



Figure 27. Prayer stop during Father Mychal's walk

In total there were eleven prayer stations, including the mass at St. Francis of Assisi Church. This symbolic number further linked the religiosity of the procession to the national tragedy of 11 September, for participants at least. That degree of symbolic detail was unbeknownst to the spontaneous audiences that stumbled upon the walk. Throughout the procession people stopped to watch, briefly as we moved, and longer at prayer stations where the new fire chaplain, voice amplified by a megaphone, said his blessings and read the names of dead first responders. The visual and auditory display enticed audiences' interest in the moving bodies, as the performed procession signalled a sense of significance. As the walk neared 1 WTC, this sense of

significance was further heightened by a sonorous sound of a fire bell mounted on a small fire truck that accompanied the march on the final stretch to the tower, its rhythmic ring giving the walk the feel of a solemn procession, as more and more pedestrians stopped and watched, and traffic slowed.

With the resonating sound, the atmosphere of the walk changed. Where before participants had indulged in the telling of tales of their daily lives, the chatter now calmed, hushed by the rhythmic tolls of the bell; it felt as though the walk had turned into on a funeral march. There was an almost cinematic sense of foreboding, a rather odd sensation, as I wondered how something could be foreboding that had happened twelve years ago, the outcome known. To my surprise, we did not stop at the construction fence of the yet to be completed tower of 1 WTC, which was and is highly surveilled. Instead the gates were opened, permitting the walkers entry to one of the most fiercely secured building sites in NYC and probably the United States. Pedestrians watched bewildered as our group was ushered into the forbidden area, gathering underneath the tower and partaking in the now familiar ritual of the prayer ceremony, although this one lasted longer because more time was dedicated to all lives lost that day, not just first responders. An audience gathered outside the fence, watching and taking pictures, but while at previous stops the police and firemen in uniform where often asked to pose for photos they were not here. They and their presence at this site were respected and not intruded upon. The ceremony ended with a communal blessing of the new tower as hands were raised in spontaneous, yet choreographed unison, reminiscent of Schechner's (1988a) concept of restored behaviour, or Taylor's (2003) ideas concerning the repertoire. Bodily performances and gestures are never occurring for the first time, they are recognisable repetitions. The lifting of hands to bless someone or something is part of such a recognisable repertoire.

Upon exiting the construction zone underneath the towers, the heightened atmosphere had disappeared. The bell stopped ringing, and people talked and

laughed again as they walked three more blocks to the steps of St. Peter's Church where the walk concluded with a thirty minute long closing ceremony of speeches, prayers and songs.

Stephen's run

The twelfth *Tunnel to Towers 5K Run and Walk* was held on 29 September 2013. The fund-raising event is organised by the *Stephen Siller Tunnel to Towers Foundation*, a non-profit organisation honouring "the legacy of love given to us by Stephen Siller, FDNY, who laid down his life on 9/11, by 'doing good' in his name".⁴² The run is "about doing something beyond yourself, doing something selfless, doing something where you make the world a better place", Siller's sister, Sarah, explained.⁴³ Created by Siller's family after his death, the foundation supports an array of causes, ranging from disaster relief, to scholarships for children who have lost a parent serving in Iraq or Afghanistan, and the remembrance of 11 September. Whereas Father Mychal's walk was a leisurely, albeit four hour long, stroll through Manhattan, Siller's run was an athletic event. Most runners were dressed accordingly in running shoes and sporting apparel and bibs with their registration numbers. There were also runners in full firefighter gear, with boots, helmets, heavy jackets and oxygen tanks on their backs. Participants came from all walks of life, but veterans, members of the armed forces and firefighters (FDNY, national and international), or those displaying affiliation or solidarity with these groups, were the most easily identified because of their signifying attire (uniforms, t-shirts, firefighters' gear etc.). Thousands of people assembled at the starting line in Brooklyn where American flags were prominently displayed. The starting time for 'regular' runners was 9:30am. Before them, at 9:11am, disabled veterans (military and first responders) were the first to make their way through the tunnel accompanied by cheering and applause. They were followed by several platoons from different military branches, including a large group of West Point cadets. Separate lanes were assigned for fast-running teams and slower moving participants, such as veterans in wheelchairs or on

⁴² Mission Statement, available at: <http://tunnel2towers.org/> (Accessed 18 February 2014).

⁴³ TV-interview with Sarah Siller on Fox 5 New York before the ceremony on 11 September 2013.

crutches. As the thousands of ‘regular’ runners took the tunnel, the two lines merged into one large path.

Throughout the day I positioned myself at different vantage points, observing from Greenwich Street above the tunnel exit on the Manhattan side, and later near the finish-line and the ‘after-party’ street fair near Vesey Street, where I was able to talk with runners and spectators alike. From my lookout position above the tunnel’s exit, I watched neatly choreographed bodies in uniform waiting for the runners to emerge. Aligned at one side of the tunnel’s mouth, next to the ‘slow’ lane, a parade of 343 New York firefighters greeted the runners. Dressed in formal Class-A uniforms⁴⁴ each held a banner depicting the portrait of a ‘brother’ who had died on 11 September. This line of remembrance moved many participants and spectators, including me. The number of victims is a rather abstract concept, impossible for my mind to grasp. The 343 firefighters aligned along the West Side Highway vividly visualised how devastating the loss had been for the FDNY alone. Across the firefighters and their banners stood a line of military personnel bearing the American flag. Stationed next to the ‘fast’ lane at the tunnel exit, the flag bearing soldiers welcomed the different units of the armed forces and other teams emerging from the tunnel. The troops passed swiftly and orderly, cheered on by spectators above the tunnel. Wounded veterans, some of them with prosthetic legs and crutches, others in wheelchairs, exited the tunnel in the other lane next to 343 the firefighters holding banners of their dead colleagues. Immense applause and excited cheers erupted upon their arrival, from banner/ flag-bearers and audiences alike. They were greeted with high-fives, back clapping and salutes.

Fast runners completed the run in less than twenty minutes. By the time I had walked towards the finish line, only lay-runners and walkers with big smiles on their faces

⁴⁴ Formal Class A uniforms are parade dress uniforms worn at official functions, ceremonies or funerals. They are decorated with ornamentation, medals and signifiers of rank mimic the look of military dress uniforms. The formal outfits include hats, white gloves, and ties as part of their dress uniform.

were still arriving. They too were greeted with cheers from the spectating crowd, many of them friends and family. The closing ceremony started around 11:30 with speeches and music. The after party felt like a street fair, the area packed tightly with bodies and all sorts of sounds (music, laughter and voices) and smells (and smoke) coming from grilled food. By 1pm the crowd had thinned, and I went home.



Figure 28. Firefighters carrying portraits at the Tunnel to Towers run

Ephemeral and accidental

The walk and run discussed here are mobile acts of remembrance and can be likened to ‘ephemeral’ or ‘accidental’ memorials (Santino 2006, Doss 2006, Haskins and Rancourt 2017). Both are vernacularly organised public performances of remembrance. They are ephemeral performances because they disappear (and reappear again the following year). They are accidental because audiences stumble upon them by happenstance. “Unlike traditional memorials that occupy specially designated places, ephemeral memorials temporarily disrupt existing scenes and routines of daily life and compete for attention of accidental tourists with other public attractions” (Haskins and Rancourt 2017: 165). The disruption of street traffic

during both events confronted accidental spectators (tourists, pedestrians, straphangers, drivers) with the remembrance of 9/11.

During Mychal's walk I spoke briefly with members of the impromptu audience that had watched at the prayer stops along the walking route. These spectators associated the procession with 11 September. On the one hand, this was due to the date, four days before the anniversary of the attacks. Especially tourists who had flown to the city were aware of it, admitting that they could not help thinking about the terror attacks when choosing travel dates. Stumbling across the walk they had no doubt that "this was a 9/11 memory thing" as one tourist-couple put it, adding "We are so close to the anniversary". On the other hand they recognised the FDNY and NYPD as leading characters in 9/11 commemorative master narrative characters (see below), so "connecting the dots". This connecting of the dots speaks to semiotics of the performance (Eco 1977). The signifiers of the firefighter uniforms and trucks, as well as the banner and attire of walkers, provided a (mobile, temporal, imagined) scenario which spectators were able to decode in relation to 9/11 and its remembrance. Accordingly, the accidental tourists, in their audiencing, contributed to the performance by partaking in the remembrance. The disruption of traffic for 9/11 was respected and accepted. NYC's drivers, notorious for their impatience and aggressive honking, had honked when stopped too far away to see the reasons for the traffic interruption. Once they saw the signifiers of 9/11 in the procession, however, the honking subsided. No such noise disrupted the ceremonies at the fire and police stations.

In both commemorative events, being seen and performing remembrance publically in a spectacular manner was an attempt to gain public attention by insisting on "the presence of absent people" (Santino 2006: 13). Much like the spontaneous memorial objects left in public spaces after the attacks, the walk and run were attempts to (re)claim public space for remembrance both physically and mentally. Haskins and Rancourt (2017) speak of the tactics ephemeral memorials must utilise in order to

draw the attention of accidental audiences and so succeed the performance of remembrance. Doss (2010), discussing spontaneous memorials, describes them as “often aggressively physical entities: spaces that must be walked around (literally, if they block a sidewalk or occupy vast acres in a park), places that demand our physical interaction” (Doss 2006: 300). The walks and runs performed the/in remembrance of Father Mychal and firefighter Siller demanded public attention through strategic interruptions of public space, the use of sound, and the employment of recognisable imagery. They utilised the symbolic repertoire of mourning (Taylor 2003), as well as the commemorative master narrative, especially the heroic protagonists of the FDNY.

5.2 Dramatizing Sacrifice, Heroes and Saints

“During the course of the 20th century, a shift occurred in architectural and aesthetic codes away from the iconography of ‘romantic heroism’ or Christian sacralisation towards abstraction and non-figurative memorial forms” (Allen and Brown 2011: 313). As discussed in Chapter 4, the 9/11 memorial institution fits the latter category, lacking overtly any permanent symbolism of national, religious, or other ideological displays at the site. Symbols of the national 9/11 master narrative and their sentiments are brought and (en)acted by visitors to the site; they are not design elements. Interestingly, it is the two types of aesthetics Allen and Brown speak of, heroism and Christian sacralisation, that play a featured role in the performed remembering taking stage outside the memorial plaza. Detached from the flagship vessel of 9/11 remembrance, the mobile performances of vernacular remembrance were more ‘public,’ to stay with Bodnar’s (1993) terminology, much more political, patriotic and national than the memorial at Ground Zero which, at least overtly, refrains from such displays.

One theory of the origin of ancient theatre is that it emerged out of myth and ritual and evolved as a civic event honouring fallen heroes (Brockett and Hildy 2003; Nellhaus 2016). Ridgeway (1915: 5-6) has argued that the genre of tragedy “sprang

out of the indigenous worship of the dead” and gives the example of worship of the Greek god Dionysus who was regarded as both “a hero (i.e. a man turned into a saint) and a god”. As a saint, the ancient hero in death holds continuous spiritual power. Rituals bestow experience with meaning. “Ritual activities effectively sacralize things, people or events” (Bell 2009: 15). In the civic/ religious processions of the walking and running events, the lead characters were sanctified. They were presented as idealised versions, good victims, whose ‘good’ attributes fit, or are constructed to fit, tragic saint and hero character roles. Father Mychal in a religious sense, Stephen Siller in a more civic one (Bellah 1967).

Father Mychal was influential in his care and advocacy for the homeless, people with HIV/AIDS and gay rights. His life’s legacy is both amplified and overshadowed by the circumstances of his death. Sometimes referred to as 11 September’s “most famous victim” (Senior 2011), his death was more public than the deaths of many other victims because of the publication and wide circulation of what is now considered an iconic photo. Taken by Reuters photographer Shannon Stapleton, the image depicts Mychal’s dead body as it was carried out of the wreckage of the North Tower by five rescue workers. Brink (2000: 137) argues that “photographs that are nowadays called icons are those that ‘made history’, usually in the very broad sense that they are widely disseminated and immediately recognisable”. Moreover they are symbolic frames of reference placing the image and the significance it represents into a larger, national context (Goldberg 1991). What icons and photography have in common is

the similarity with the original: their reality as symbol. Like the particular semblance of authenticity, this reality primarily lies in the significance attached to photographs by those individuals or groups for whom they symbolize something ... a specific interpretation of history. (Brink 2000: 141)

In public discourse, Father Mychal’s last photo has been titled ‘American Pietà’ (Atkins 2011; Senior 2011), pointing towards both the iconisation and sacralisation

of his person by attributing him Christ-like qualities. The mystification of Mychal Judge is further perpetuated in popular culture. His good deeds in life and sacrificial death are topics of articles, books and films, referring to him as St. Mychal (Hagerty 2011) or the “Saint of 9/11”,⁴⁵ and there is an active campaign lobbying for his formal canonisation. To Father Duffy, in his eulogy at Judge’s funeral, Mychal’s death was of divine purpose:

Mychal Judge's body was the first one released from Ground Zero. His death certificate has the number '1' on the top. Of the thousands of people who perished in that terrible holocaust, why was Mychal Judge number one? And I think I know the reason. Mychal's goal and purpose in life was to bring the firemen to the point of death so they would be ready to meet their maker. Mychal Judge could not have ministered to them all. It was physically impossible – in this life ... we're going to have name after name of people who are being brought out of that rubble. And Mychal Judge is going to be on the other side of death – to greet them, instead of sending them there. (NPR Staff 2011)

Father Mychal here is presented as both sacrificial lamb and shepherd who has given his life in order to continue his service to others. He was a ‘good victim’ who paid the “ultimate sacrifice”. In the regional commemorative narrative of 11 September, and certainly to the FDNY, Father Mychal the “firemen’s friar” (Senior 2011), stands as the patron saint of the victims of 9/11 and the firefighters. In a speech given shortly after the attacks NY mayor Giuliani stated:

The losses within our fire department are staggering, but I know Father Judge is praying for us. The fire department is going to emerge stronger from this tragedy and Father Judge is going to be there praying for us and supporting us. (Zawadzinski 2001)

This notion of Mychal watching over and praying for the fire department and its firefighters in death as he did in life remains strong. Following the walk, an

⁴⁵ *Saint of 9/11 – The True Story of Father Mychal Judge* is a film documentary released in 2006.

emotional Fire Commissioner Cassano addressed the participants assembled on the stairs of St. Peter's Church:

Father Mychal was our chaplain, our spiritual leader. He was leading us that day on September 11, praying over all of us that were down there. And it's very important for us in the department and the FDNY, at a start of a very difficult week for us, where we pray for our 343 brothers we lost on September 11, and since that day 76 more members of the department who have lost their lives because of the work they did during the rescue and recovery effort at the World Trade Centre. To start the week off with the Mychal Judge Walk, a way to start a difficult week, it does start the week off in a much better way. In a much holier way. (Commissioner Cassano, New York City Fire Department, 8 September 2013)

The sunny weather of the day was also credited to Father Mychal. By attributing to him an ongoing spiritual leadership and the super-natural power to make the anniversary of the attacks more holy, the Commissioner acknowledged Father Mychal's sacredness embedded in a Christian sense.



Figure 29. Poster carried at Father Mychal's walk

“Commemorations are concerned less with what actually happened than with what people believed or desired to have happened” (Burke 2010: 107). Stephen Siller’s person is also attributed with super-human power, though not in a Christian sense. Post-9/11 America is defined by “heightened nationalist discourse” (Butler 2004: i). In the trauma process (Alexander 2003) the event 9/11 has been framed as a narrative of national tragedy. In theatrical terms, a ‘tragedy’ involves a tragic protagonist, a ‘tragic hero’. Through an unexpected reversal of favourable circumstances, a great person is facing hardship. But whereas the morally sound tragic hero in classical theatre finds doom via some error in judgement, the heroes in the national tragedy of 11 September are tragic because of self-sacrifice, because they did the ‘right’ thing for the greater good. A Cambellian understanding of ‘mythical hero’ is a more suitable concept to describe Siller’s rising to the occasion. According to Campbell (2008 [1949]: 14), a mythical hero is a “man or woman who has been able to battle past ... personal and local historical limitations to the generally valid, normally human form”. As a ‘mythical hero,’ Siller, and what he stands for, are tightly knotted together with the national symbolism of civil religion (Bellah 1967). The charitable organisation founded in Siller’s name can be categorised as what Allen and Brown (2011) call a ‘living memorial’, established “to commemorate the life of a victim or victims through an assemblage of people, things and narratives that are arranged in complex networks of activities” (Allen and Brown 2011: 313). Accordingly, “living memorials – such as the development of a charitable foundation – are never really ‘finished’ in the sense that they endure precisely by changing and evolving” and incorporate “the movement of life” (Allen and Brown 2011: 316 + 318). This suggests that they are less about the memory of whomever they are dedicated to and more about remembering, as they are actively engaged with the present and future rather than the past. The malleability of story and purpose is certainly true of the Stephen Siller Foundation. Its most prominent program is *Building for America’s Bravest* (in collaboration with the *Gary Sinese*⁴⁶ *Foundation*), a scheme that allocates funds towards the building and customising of smart homes for “the most catastrophically injured American service members”, disabled veterans wounded “in

⁴⁶ Gary Sinese is an actor known for his roles as Lt. Dan in *Forest Gump* and Capt. Taylor in *CSI: NY*. Due to his activism and acting roles, Sinese is closely associated with both the U.S. military and New York.

the line of duty to protect our country”.⁴⁷ Many of these disabled veterans take part in the run. The foundation operating in Siller’s name shows how he (in death) still does good and is still saving lives just as he did on 9/11. But unlike the ‘living memorials’ explored by Allen and Brown, the Tunnel to Tower run is, quite literally, footed in the past because the commemorative run is both an act of remembrance that choreographs an actual retracing and partial (re)enactment of the firefighter’s final and ‘heroic’ footsteps. It is partial because it does not end at a burning building. No one really knows what happened to Siller in his final moments or where he was when he died. He was last seen at West Street and Liberty. The rest is unknown, confirming that “what is commemorated [and (re)enacted] is not synonymous with what has happened in the past” (Dwyer and Alderman 2008: 167).

The terms ‘hero’ or ‘American hero’ are often used to describe the victims of 11 September, although many family members disagree with the label. Kenneth, who lost his child in the North Tower, was adamant that his son “was only a man, not a soldier” (impromptu interview, 7 July 2013). However, no one disputes the title in regards to the idolised first responders of the FDNY (Smelser 2004). Both the NYPD and FDNY are considered iconic features of New York City, their struggles and heroism dramatized in weekly prime-time television programs. Post-9/11, their iconic status has increased significantly. While both units have played important roles in the narrative that is 11 September, it is the firefighters who are tied to its plot of trauma overcome by heroic sacrifice and American resilience (Smelser 2004). The difference may be due to the greater numbers of deaths: the fire department lost 343, the police department 23.⁴⁸ Following the attacks and the realisation that so many firefighters had lost their lives, the public outpouring of sympathy and empathy towards the FDNY was enormous. Although nearly 3000 people died, ten thousand survived and were successfully evacuated and rescued. Credit was given to the firefighters who had entered the burning towers, climbing up emergency stairs as

⁴⁷ *Building for America’s Bravest*, is a program of the Stephen Siller foundation; available at <https://ourbravest.org/> (Accessed 20 February 2015).

⁴⁸ These numbers do not account for the numerous first responders who died and are still dying from the exposure to toxins in the debris and air following the attacks. Because of the environmental hazards, the NYPD has lost more members since 9/11 than they had lost on the day of the attacks.

civilians climbed down, pointing and guiding them to safety. Admiration for, and acknowledgement of, their “ultimate sacrifice” (their deaths) was rewarded with a principal position in 11 September’s national commemorative master narrative.

Commemorations are

performative statements, ... statements that make something happen. They are rituals which ‘canonize’ particular events, in the sense of giving them a sacred or exemplary quality, making them ‘historic’ as well as historical. They tell a story, present a ‘grand narrative’, or make it grand by performing it. They reconstruct history or ‘re-collect’ or ‘re-member’ it in the sense of practising bricolage, assembling fragments of the past into new patterns. (Burke 2010: 106)

As members of the department, both Father Mychal and Stephen Siller are exemplary archetypes of the heroic category of victims. In their commemorations they were presented as such, each representing aspects of historical hero-worship in the ‘grand narrative’. Whereas Mychal’s walk was laden with Christian religious conventions and symbolism, Siller’s run was religious in a national sense, in what Bellah (1967) has termed “civil religion”. Durkheim (2008 [1915]) states that societies rely on collective rituals and myths to ensure cohesion. Where Durkheim’s treatise is mostly concerned with matters of religion, Bellah (1967) has further shown how rituals and myths play a defining role in regards to continuous national identity and unity. They do so by employing of civic religious symbolism and narrative such a nation’s myth of origin, a clear distinction between good and evil, and exemplary archetypes that (re)present ideal versions of citizenry. Framed as a national tragedy, the event ‘9/11’ and its commemoration in the US cannot be separated from nationalist sentiment, as the ‘American’ narrative and remembrance are a symbol for national patriotism and a sense of unity. For example, the commemoration at the National September 11 Memorial and Museum are the centre of the narrative as it possesses ‘sacred texts’ (for example memorabilia – the cross shaped metal rods left standing after the attacks, melted fire helmets, single shoes), a ‘sacred place’ (Ground Zero), and an

annual ritual, or ‘holy day’ (anniversary commemorations). However, as discussed in Chapter 1 the memorial design seeks to democratize the dead rather than highlight individual victims or victim groups. The walk and run organized in remembrance of Judge and Siller, then, must remain part of the vernacular. The space for elevating their persons, or a small part of their persons, as symbolic ‘sacrificial martyrs’, to use Bellah’s (1967) account of civil religion, is not fixed at the centre of the narrative; it is mobile and outside.

The display of the faces of 343 dead firefighters was a reminder that there were other such ‘martyrs’ who had died that day, so anchoring the 9/11 master narrative firmly with the nation itself. The images were the only commemorative act of the event solely dedicated to the victims of 11 September. For the most part, the event was tied to national rhetoric, patriotic proclamations and heroic archetypes. Across the firefighters and their banners stood a line of military personnel bearing the American flag. Staged opposite to each other, the juxtaposed displays performed the appropriation of 9/11 and its remembrance as a national and politicised commodity (Pearson 1999). Furthermore, the two lines of New York City firefighters and US-American soldiers united civil and military forces as American heroes. Examining city and state mourning following 9/11, Smelser (2004: 226) outlines the evolution of this unity. After the attacks,

widespread collective mourning, both spontaneous and officially scheduled ... focused on the innocent people killed in the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon, but even more on the policemen and firemen who lost their lives while carrying out rescue duties. The mourning was accompanied by a profound idolisation of the latter especially the New York Fire Department personnel whose status as heroes soon became as firmly fixed as other military heroes in the nation’s history.

The row of 343 firefighters accompanying the runners on the way to 1 WTC symbolised the resilience and unity displayed by New Yorkers and Americans in the

aftermath of the attacks. Stephen Siller's death was presented in a broad national sense. His sacrifice is an exemplary symbol for all of America, not just for the fire department. He died a 'true' American hero, making the ultimate sacrifice while helping others in need. However, while these connections are recognised and drawn by both runners and on an organisational level, this annual event has the purpose of fund-raising. As such it aims to appeal emotionally to potential donors, because such appeals are an effective tool of persuasion. The event's focal points were neither the attacks nor firefighters. Instead, it was wounded veterans, many of whom were placed in the foreground of this run, performing (and being celebrated) as American heroes, their struggles in the war on terror visible on their injured bodies.



Figure 30. Soldiers emerging from the tunnel

People's deaths are often appropriated to bolster and legitimise different political positions. In varying circumstances, dead bodies may be subject to exploitation in order to legitimise political currents (Verdery 1999). In Siller's case, his dead body is absent. He is presented as a heroic figure and "used as a symbolic frame to rationalise national suffering" (West 2008: 337). However, at this event of remembrance, this rationalisation did not exclusively refer to *then* (2001), but included *now* and the ongoing war on terror. The military response to 9/11 is often presented as an act of defence, a "just war" (Vance 1997), an appropriate and logical strike against those who, in an unprovoked attack, had killed innocents and attacked the US's core values (Tyrrell 2013). This of course is a partial logic. As Butler (2004: 5) argues:

There is as well a narrative dimension to this explanatory framework. In the United States, we begin the story by invoking a first-person narrative point of view and telling what happened on September 11. It is that date and the unexpected and fully terrible experience of violence that propels the narrative.

Starting this narrative earlier would mean tracing the past further back and more broadly than 11 September 2001 to include the perpetrators' lives and *their* justification for their actions, as well as the acts of violence committed by the United States when engaged in military campaigns. Doing so, the notion of a "just war" (Vance 1997) does not hold. Soldiers serving overseas, getting wounded or killed, are perceived as protecting the nation and preventing another 9/11 from happening on American soil. At the Tunnel to Towers run, the disabled bodies of "catastrophically injured American"⁴⁹ soldiers served a similar function as the dead bodies described by Verdery (1999).

⁴⁹ *Building for America's Bravest*; available at <https://ourbravest.org/> (Accessed 20 February 2015).

The performative function of these bodies in relation to 9/11 can be likened to Joseph Roach's (1996) concept of surrogation. Roach (1996), in exploring the relationship between memory, performance and substitution, proposes the term "surrogation" to describe processes of cultural (re)production and (re)creation via a mode of replacement and substitution of an original that is lost or missing. Returning to Verdery (1999), her concepts of dead and appropriated bodies also seems relevant precisely because no actual dead bodies are present or were presented. The appropriation of the dead is effective because

The dead body is meaningful not in itself but ... through the way a specific dead person's importance is variously construed ... [the dead body does] not have a single meaning but is open to many different readings ... [Though it] presents the illusion of having *only one* significance ... all that is shared is everyone's recognition of this dead person as somehow important. (Verdery 1999: 28 + 29, emphasis in original)

Because of this illusion the characters of both Judge and Siller can be mythicized and sanctified, altered and replaced via surrogation. According to Roach (1996: 2) "survivors attempt to fit satisfactory alternates". Surrogation then is the process of performing, adding, substituting, removing, replacing, transmitting and, I would add, remembering as it too is an active doing, transmitting and performing. Roach further offers a second conceptual tool that works with surrogation, the notion of effigy, a contrivance, which to him is fundamentally performative. He states,

Effigy's similarity to performance should be clear enough: it fills by means of surrogation a vacancy created by the absence of an original. Beyond ostensibly inanimate effigies fashioned from wood or cloth, there are more elusive but more powerful effigies fashioned from flesh. Such effigies are made by performances. They consist of a set of actions that hold open a place in memory into which many different people may step according to circumstances and occasions. (Roach 1996: 36)

In this view, the participating bodies (re)enacting the run are effigies standing in for Siller, who in turn is a stand in for the mythical heroes of the nation, including people like Father Mychal. However, they are not substitutions or copies because the identities of both have been scripted and altered in terms of civil and christian religious symbolism and ideology. They are themselves stand-ins in the wider national commemorative narrative appropriated in public/ national/ present/ future purposes. Roach acknowledges that the process of surrogation “rarely ever succeeds” because “collective memory works selectively, imaginatively and often perversely [and] the fit cannot be exact” (Roach 1996: 2). For Raphael (2007) “the process of surrogation, like the absent presence of performance itself, is necessarily incomplete, haunted as it is by the original the surrogate seeks to replace” (Raphael 2007: 2). Both Father Mychal and Stephen Siller are missing, were lost that day. Thinking back to MacAloon’s (1984) quote at the beginning of this chapter, the participants in the walk and run perform a scripted version of their archetypes (rather than their persons), so performing surrogate dramatization of the collective myth and history of 9/11 and expanding its commemorative narrative (Zerubavel 1995).

5.3 (Re)enacting, Affecting and (Re)Membering

In ancient times, hero- and saint-worship concerned the practice of honouring “dead kings and heroes by imitating events in their lives” (Nellhaus 2016: 26). This is in line with Brockett and Hildy (2003: 1) who point to the costumes and masks worn by performers in ancient ritual ceremonies to represent idealised and mythical characters. Framing the commemorative walking/ running events as ritualistic and performative processions of moving (and costumed) bodies, the imitation process is one of retracing, or (re)enacting of the final steps presumed to be taken by Judge and Siller. Tying commemorative ceremonies with ritual performance, Connerton (1989: 70) argues that the “image of the past”, a past that works in conjunction with the master narrative, is “conveyed and sustained by ritual performances”. In the case of Siller’s run the bodily (re)enactments reaffirm the narrative but also expand it to include, absorb and surrogate other national heroes. The evolution of the foundation’s website (<http://tunnel2towers.org/>) reflects this expansion. During my

fieldwork in 2013, the website stated its ‘vision and mission’ as: “to follow Stephen's footsteps through support of children who have lost a parent, firefighters, and military who have been seriously injured and sacrifice their quality of life in the line of duty” (Accessed 7 September 2013). Since then the statement has been re-phrased, mirroring the re-focusing of its core fund-raising efforts towards veterans wounded in the war on terror. The foundation’s new mission now reads: “To honor the sacrifice of firefighter Stephen Siller who laid down his life to save others on September 11, 2001. We also honor our military and first responders who continue to make the supreme sacrifice of life and limb for our country” (Accessed 11 February 2016).

Having discussed the scripting and dramatization of both the archetypes and narrative, I will now turn my attention to the participants running and walking the Tunnel to Towers run to examine their experiences of (re)enacting Siller’s story in the context of the run’s dramaturgical choreography. Ritual, (re)enactment and public remembrance are closely related. They are performances “perhaps best understood as a particular type of embodied, spatial practice” (Chidester and Linenthal 1995: 9). My understanding of ritual is informed by Drewal (1991: 11) who perceives ritual as a

transformational process, as improvisation, in contrast to the more standard approach as a process of regularization or reproduction in which ritual is viewed more or less as reproducing the past or the cosmos in stable fashion with relatively little, or gradual change.

Drewal here draws attention to the malleable and social processes of remembrance I discussed in Chapter 2. Rituals are adjusted to reflect present contexts, and this adjustment is citational, even mimetic, connecting past and present via active, bodily doings and (re)doings. Exploring the performativity of Civil War (re)enactments, Rebecca Schneider (2011) suggests “the experience of re-enactment (whether in replayed art or in replayed war) is an intense, embodied inquiry into temporal

repetition, temporal recurrence ... [as] the practice of re-playing or re-doing a precedent event". (Schneider 2011: 1-2). The 're' in (re)enactment or (re)doing or (re)playing speaks to the element of again-ness of the enactment and therefore its recognisability (Schneider 2011: 32). What is enacted is neither original nor copy, but what Schechner describes as 'restored behaviour' (Schechner 1988, 2003) because performance and the bodily gestures and costumes it involves are in essence citational. The commemorative (re)enactments of Siller's and Mychal's final footsteps work, or intend to work, to "restore the mnemonic quality of historical knowledge, to bring back to popular consciousness, and to reconnect it with the realm of lived experience" (Assmann 2001: 6823). Through the lived experience of doing remembrance in the form of (re)enactment, 'the past' is brought back to life for the duration of the performance and then, as suggested by Schneider (2001) and Taylor (2003), leaves traces.

Physical sacrifice

In public (re)enactments the body is "mnemonic encapsulation" (Bell 2009: 94). Runners performed remembrance through the body (in that they were seen by co-performing audiences) and with the body by physically imprinting their muscles with the remembrance of Siller's footsteps in an intense physical way. The intensity of bodily involvement was observable in the (re)enactors of both events, more so however in the athletic Tunnel to Tower run. Whereas the physical strain of the Mychal Judge walk was mostly due to the heat of the day and/ or a lack of endurance (it was a four hour long walk), Siller's, was strenuous because the environment was demanding. The conditions inside the tunnel were more difficult than the length of the route, making the bodily (re)enacting of the symbolic hero's final steps a challenge, even though the event did not take much time.

While observing near the finishing line I noticed many of the lay-runners who entered the final stretch of the route with some form of visible physical strain or

discomfort. Sweat dripped down their faces and soaked their clothing, their cheeks were reddened and facial expressions laboured. Their bodily movements seemed heavy, as if invisible weights held down their feet. There were some who trotted tiredly until the finishing line became visible, then entered a light jog, before ending with a final sprint to cross the ballooned gate marking the end of the run. Breathing heavily these runners stopped, resting their hands on their knees and hanging their heads low, their backs rising and falling with their heavy inhaling and exhaling. When their faces remerged from this crouched position they revealed wide grins, then walked away stiffly and happily into the crowds.

When I asked runners near the finishing line and after party about their running experiences, they described the air as “hot”, “stuffy” and “unbreathable”, effecting their ability to “move legs” and the strength of will required “to just keep going”. One woman I had approached because she seemed to walk particularly ‘stalky’ responded to my question of “How was it?” with “Good! It hurts! Good!” Chuckling, she added “it feels much better after”. Passing a group of men gulping water all wearing same-coloured t-shirts, I overheard their talk about the tunnel and run, the awfully early wake up call this morning (they had been up since 4am) and their anticipation of muscle soreness the following day. They did so with excited voices, and laughing throughout. When I stopped to ask them some questions, they shared that despite the physical demand and anticipated pain it was worth it because “it’s good to challenge yourself” and because it was a fund-raising event. For them it was a way to contribute to a good cause, “do your part. And to remember 9/11”. Physical discomfort was outweighed by feelings of elation of having contributed to “something bigger than yourself”, and pride in having overcome such a demanding challenge.

Throughout the day I had numerous other such exchanges. People admitted the physical challenges of the run was exciting to overcome. Also exciting was having done something good, having offered something for a greater cause (the veterans

fighting the war on terror). The notion of ‘offering’ in the context of the bodily motions of (re)enactment can be likened to the practices of ritual processions. Whereas religious processions often include some kind of offering to ensure good fortune or protection, the offerings presented at the run were the physical act of gifting ones bodily action and bodily discomfort, a sacrificing of pain, similar to the Stations of the Cross mentioned above. Examining the *Good Friday* rituals of (re)enactment in Cudut, Philippines, in which participant not only retrace Jesus’ final steps but are literally nailed to the cross, Tiatco and Bonifacio-Ramolete (2008: 70) argue that undergoing the rite and physical pain is a sign of reverence and an offering, as well as a “contract between the devotee and the Almighty”. I do not propose that participants of the run entered a contract with Siller or God or the nation. Rather it was a fulfillment of the collective promise to “never forget” the dead of 9/11. The ‘doing good’ exceeded the fundraising which will benefit the living. It was a ‘going right’ by the dead through remembering publically, visibly and collectively, by physically offering one’s own body.



Figure 31. Runners inside the tunnel

The offering of a body was more important than any one body offered, as demonstrated in the words of Polly, who downplayed her individual offer in context of all those others who offered bodily performance. I approached Polly on the subway platform while I was waiting for the downtown train back to Brooklyn. She still wore the runner's bib with her registration number. I was intrigued by her appearance: leggings, trainers and a bright yellow visor crowning her silver-blue hair. I guessed her age around 80 and had to smile when she almost apologetically 'admitted' she had "walked" the entire run. Echoing the many tales I had heard throughout the morning, Polly described the run as challenging.

The tunnel was tough. It was hot and muggy. It gets steeper, obviously, because you come back up. Imagine Stephen doing this with his heavy gear. There were a bunch of firefighters running in full gear, oxygen tank and all. And they were struggling. But the wounded warriors, double amputees, and they were walking it! I'm in awe of them. It reminds you that you can do it, too. What am I complaining about, you know? (Polly, impromptu interview, 29 September 2013)

She met my declaration that completing the route was quite a challenge and achievement for many people with an unconvinced shrug. Polly dismissed her own bodily accomplishment, comparing her physical difficulties with others who she thought had a harder time. She placed empathising with the suffering of others within the greater narrative of overcoming. Her witnessing others' strained bodily performances while she herself was bodily performing heightened her affective response to the experience. Her associating firefighter Siller with the "wounded warriors" of the war on terror further indicates the extension of, and subscription to, the commemorative narrative of 9/11, including the surrogate hero soldiers. Being able to conquer the physical hardship of the tunnel, just as the hero did that day, and the surrogate wounded did today, and feeling the 'same' physical strain and pain that was experienced by them was emotionally rewarding. It speaks to the emotional entanglement of remembrance and performance and spect-acting. The physical

bodies of the runners (re)enacting as if they were performing ‘Siller’, were doing so in the co-presence of others also performing ‘Siller’, acting and spect-acting together in a choreographed manner. The effect on the affected bodies and minds was cathartic and reverential.

Affective (co)performing

The sense of achievement was often linked to notions of national pride, as well as a sense of a shared national identity. Many of the runners wore some kind of patriotic garb ranging from baseball caps, red, white and blue hair ribbons and t-shirts depicting the American flag, to entire flags wrapped around runner’s bodies. Often these images were tied to 9/11 iconography such as images of the Twins Towers or a firetruck. These costumes and props placed the performances and (re)enacting into national contexts. Patriotic sentiments were also performed by the organisers of the event, who had decorated the route with American national signs, symbols and colours. But it was the act, crossing through the tunnel and how it was staged, that aided most the national framing of this commemorative (re)enactment.

For many of the runners I spoke to the ‘favourite part’ of the run was the soundscape that played through the tunnel’s intercom system. Cat, a female runner wearing an Army t-shirt, though not a member of the troops, explained:

Running through the tunnel was really emotional. Like, coming in, it was ridiculously hot and stuffy, and cramped because of all the runners. I was dripping sweat maybe a minute in. Really gross. And then they blasted ‘I’m proud to be an American’ through the speakers and I almost lost it. And then everybody started chanting ‘USA, USA’. There were guys crying, like, really emotional. And then you come out and see the Freedom Tower. And the firemen and the banners of the fallen, and the flags. That gave me goose bumps. It reminded me of what this country is all about. Nothing can tear us down. (Cat, impromptu interview, 29 September 2015)

In this quote Cat touches upon several important factors when thinking about the public remembrance of 9/11, its commemorative master narrative and performance. Her experience of overcoming a demanding physical challenge was directly affected by the staged patriotic symbolism. It was sustained and underscored by a cinematic soundtrack dramaturgically scripting her doing of remembrance in accordance with the official public memory of 9/11 (Bodnar 1993). She had a deep emotional response to the staged performance in the tunnel and the choreographed performance of firefighters and soldiers at the tunnel's exit, 1 WTC, the symbol of resilience, and, perhaps more importantly, to the performances of her fellow runners, her (co)performers, or co(re)enactors. In this she positions herself as spect-actor who participated actively in the run, as well as in seeing and being seen (Fenemore 2007).

Doss (2010: 74-75), discussing temporary memorials, argues that they go beyond being just being seen because they “are performative public spaces. People bring things to these memorials [here their moving bodies], not only making them but orchestrating their affective conditions”. Affect, according to Clough (2007: 2), “refers generally to bodily capacities to affect and be affected or the augmentation or diminution of a body's capacity to act, to engage, and to connect”. Schneider (2011) discusses the contagious nature of affective performance – its ability to ‘jump’ (Stewart 2007), ‘transmit’ (Brennan 2004), its ‘stickiness’ (Ahmed 2004) – and locates it *between* bodies. The capacity to jump means that affect “crosses borders of bodies, getting into and out of bodies as if there were no material border of consequence” (Stewart 2007: 196). The contagious affect can be “cross-temporal as well as cross-spatial, cross-geographical, cross- and/or contra-national. Affect [then] can circulate ... in material remains or gestic/ ritual remains ... shifting in and through bodies in encounter” (Schneider 2011: 36). The affective spirit jumping between bodies observed in the run is so powerful because the bodily co-performing and simultaneous state of (re)enacting and being (re)enacted upon in an organised and choreographed manner performs within clear frames of the commemorative master narrative. The crossing of time and space is (en)acted in the moment, is an

ephemeral, live encounter between Siller's (re)enactors, his dramatized characters and the collective remembrance.

Affect, performing and spectatorship are closely entangled. The relationship between performing actors and spectatorship is highlighted by Foster (2011) who argues that "any notion of choreography contains, embodied within it, a kinesthesia, a designated way of experiencing physicality and movement that, in turn, summons other bodies into a specific way of feeling towards it". She links the feeling to "choreographing empathy [which] entails the construction and cultivation of a specific physicality whose kinesthetic experience guides our perception of and connection to what another is feeling" (Foster 2011: 2). Cat, in her performance of (re)enactment, was heavily influenced by her co-performers. Together they performed choreography of remembrance, which was empathetic because of the stickiness of affective expression. Other runners, too, spoke of affect and empathy, especially when they were co-performing in the presence of wounded veterans. The performance of the wounded veterans, seeing their challenges and will power, inspired empathy in other runners.

Choreographed movement works "as a vehicle for renewing shared beliefs. In this way [choreographed movement] catalyses a (re)membering – a way that memory can be recreated and relived" (Foster 2011: 184). In this sense, the co-performing bodies moving through the tunnel not only performed remembering through (re)enactment, but, through the shared embodiment (re)established or (re)claimed a sense of membership (again) that is rooted in national sentiments of an imagined community (Anderson 1991). Travelling and emerging from the tunnel was a strenuous and exhausting journey, and as such a symbolic and performed ritual of renewal and (re)affirmation of belonging, a christening of sorts, a re-birth. This echoes Durkheim's (2008 [1915]) notion of collective effervescence. At the run the sense of renewal was a vehicle that strengthened the relationship between the event, 9/11, and the national commemorative master narrative.

Most runners, like Cat, experienced the run as a confirmation of the public/ official/ national narrative of 9/11. A male runner with sporty mirrored sunglasses described his experience of the tunnel's soundtrack animatedly, exulting that it "was the craziest thing when we were in the tunnel and the entire tunnel was booming with chanting: 'USA, USA'! Wow. This is what we are all about. That's the American spirit". These feelings of elation and national unity induced by a thunderous chorus of "Americans in unison" echoing through the tunnel are suggestive of Durkheim's collective effervescences, here in a secular or civil context (Bellah 1967). Such feelings are aroused through collective (ritualistic) acts in which shared beliefs are produced, (re)affirmed and (re)experienced. In the ritual of (re)enactment, the experience and (re)affirmation was (co)produced and (co)performed by "sticky" bodies. The man's comments express belief in the ideas of American exceptionalism and resilience, and indicate that this vernacular act of remembrance is, in practice, a reaffirmation of national attributes, so serving official purposes. The runners I spoke with explicitly positioned themselves inside this reaffirmed imagined community (Anderson 1991) by showing that they too possess the attributes of overcoming challenges and never giving up, traits often used to describe New York City (and by association the nation) in the aftermath of 9/11.

Collins (2004, 2012) in his account of interaction ritual and what it needs to be both effective and affective, suggests that people (and their physical bodies), need to be gathered in the same place, interacting and communicating multi-modally. Furthermore, the assembling must exceed the physical togetherness of bodies and include a mental togetherness, a mutual goal, understanding or focus, as well as the awareness that this focus is indeed mutual. This follows a shared and collective "feeling and expressing of the same emotion" (Collins 2012: 387) of the assembled group. These elements are present at the run, as well as Mychal Judge's walk. In the collective (co)performing, the (re)enactments were focused, shared doings of remembrance. The event was organised and scripted to ensure a continuation of performance; the participants contributed to its public presence in their bodily and affective action (Connerton 1989), so performing both literally and figuratively a

moving memorial. Collins acknowledges that the elements do not always succeed in creating an effective interaction ritual, but if they do, and they certainly do at the commemorative events discussed here,

mutual focus and shared emotion feed back into each other, driving them upwards to high levels of rhythmic entertainment ... At these high levels, what the group focuses upon becomes symbolic, representing membership in the group as well as depicting its boundaries and enemies. Individuals are filled with emotional energy, the feelings of confidence and enthusiasm that motivate them to acts of heroism and sacrifice. They are filled with a sense of mortality, the palpable experience of good and its fight against evil ... It is through these symbols... that people can recall feelings of solidarity and morality that pumped them up at the peak moments of collective experience. (Collins 2012: 387)

Moments of collective experience do not last and eventually subside. While they are occurring however, these moments have the “power of shaping emotions”. Their forming symbol is unsurpassed” (Collins 2012: 387). Thinking about this in terms of performance, the liveness and ephemerality of the (co)performed (re)enactment of the run, never really disappear. They leave traces and remains (Schneider 2001).

The traces and remains of the participants include their performances as seen by the audience and the participants’ own descriptions of triumph for their personal memories. Emerging from the tunnel was the most significant feature for many runners, both physically and emotionally. As Cat described earlier, the ability to breathe fresh air combined with the choreographed display, the portraits of dead firefighters and American flags, affected her deeply. Symbolically, the finish line near 1 WTC merged nationalism and the remembrance of 9/11 in a powerful way. The import assigned to the new tower by many of the runners indicates the tight association between the local remembrances of 9/11 and the national commemorative narrative. The association frames the event as an American tragedy

overcome by American attributes of resilience and exceptionalism. A female runner I spoke with at the after party proclaimed, “We will never forget, we will never surrender”, while her companion added that “Seeing Freedom” (as in the Freedom Tower) upon exiting the tunnel was her favourite thing. Indeed, “Seeing Freedom” was the reason for the run as well as the war the US was currently fighting overseas. The emergence from the darkness of the tunnel into the light was described in highly affective terms by Ralph, a lay firefighter from a neighbouring state. During our impromptu interview he paused much, looking for words to describe his feelings about the tunnel:

I will never forget this sensation. It was such a rush of physical relief coming out of there, and, I don't know, emotional release. Coming out and there's the sun and the tower and the firemen and, you know, we made it, we made it. And Stephen didn't. I don't know how to describe it, but I will never forget this. (Ralph, impromptu interview, 29 September 2015)

The physical (re)enactment of Siller's final steps blurred past and present, reflection and imagination in an emotional way. The ritual of (re)enacting the past was a living performance that endowed Ralph with a sensory and emotionally 'experienced' remembrance. Turner (1967) views ritual as a rite-of-passage, a liminal and perilous stage, for instance the transition from adolescence to adulthood. These stages are perilous because they lack a social structure. Performances of ritual are about cultural adjustment. They are “distinct phases in social processes whereby groups become adjusted to internal changes and adapted to their external environment” (Turner 1967: 20). The ritual of (re)enacting Stephen Siller's final steps recreated a moment in time that activated a cultural transition. Life changed after 9/11. It was a rupture separating time between a before and after (Simpson 2006). Ralph's “we made it” was a comment on both the emerging from the tunnel and the nation's survival engendered by rhetoric of resilience and overcoming. The run was like a rite of passage, a transition through a difficult time with a happy outcome. This ritual of (re)enactment did of course not end like in Cudut with the literal nailing on the cross, here a running into a burnin'g building. Rather it offered an alternative ending, a

happy ending. The (re)enactors willing to experience the ‘same’ (or imagined as the same) physical and emotional sensations of Siller do not die. The new tower is not on fire. Participants experience a catharsis, and the tower stands there shiny and whole, a symbolic reminder that despite tragedy, the nation is still alive.

In this chapter I discussed the vernacular public remembrances performed outside the physical boundaries of the memorial and how they operate within scripted and dramatized frames of the official version of the 9/11 commemorative master narrative. While the runs coincide with the official version of events, their performances vary, revealing not only the shifting foci of the principle memory agents but also reflects shifting political interests. The Tunnel to Towers Foundation is a powerful “living memorial” (Allen and Brown 2011). Its official support and recognition of the soldiers via their charitable programmes signals the veterans’ adoption into the 9/11 master narrative. Father Judge’s death is described as a saintly act of sacrifice. Attaching real characters and human stories to the American values helps to ‘personalise’ the trauma for the wider public by placing victimhood in a national context. The (re)enacted image of the past is scripted and dramatized. It reflects how the past is perceived in the present. It is in these vernacular remembrances that the narrative is shown to be fluid and malleable. As the needs of the mourning nation shift, so too does the master narrative in the making and (re)making of public remembrance. Both runs are performing publically an expansion of the commemorative master narrative, which, as Zerubavel (1995: 6) points out, is a selective “story about a particular past that accounts of this ritualized remembrance and provides a moral message for the group members”. They are symbolic representations of 11 September emphasizing liberty, freedom, democracy and Christian principles, and accordingly, operate within the larger frame of 9/11 and the nation. The analysis of the events and participants has shown that these performances are bodily enactments of the American exceptionalist narrative of overcoming difficulty to sacrifice oneself for the greater good. Framing the events as performed and bodily remembering, the chapter has shown how narratives privileging the national version of the attacks are not strictly bound to its official

spatial representation. The two walking/ running events viewed as public (re)enactments of a mythicized version of personal/ collective trauma solidifies and reaffirms the politicised national commemorative master narrative of 9/11. These themes will be explored further in the following chapter which analyses the varying performances of memory on several stages occurring on the anniversary of 11 September.

Chapter 6. The Anniversary: Mourners, Truthers and Rememberers

We might think of performance as the art of the 're': from the labour of rehearsal and systems for remembering to the broad spectrum of restored behaviours that are 'not for the first time'; from tragic scenes of recognition and reversal to conventions of citation and recitation; from the dream of representation without reproduction to the ethics of reenactment and the care for what remains. (Kartsaki and Schmidt 2015: 1)

To this long list of *re*'s I would add the term *return*, a returning to the scene (of the crime perhaps), a coming and going again, that occurs not only physically, but also mentally and imaginatively through remembering. The yearly cycle of remembrance of 9/11 culminates on the anniversary of the attack, arguably the most important day of its public memory. On this day (moreso than on other days) people and the nation return mentally to 2001. The past reappears in the present collective consciousness and (re)gains a temporarily heightened visibility in the public sphere. This is aided by the televised commemorative service at the memorial. The annual ritual of the recitation of the victims' names brings family members physically back to Ground Zero, many of whom return to the site on this day year after year. This ritual of physical return is not limited to family members. On the outskirts of the memorial's boundaries are others who return to Ground Zero each anniversary to remember. This chapter will examine the performances of mental and physical returning and remembering on the anniversary at the 9/11 memorial and beyond. I begin this chapter with a descriptive scene-setting to provide the *mise-en-scene* via textual narration. This is to highlight the intensified, temporary alteration of the environment manifesting on this day. The scene-setting is followed by an examination of the commemorative service, keeping in mind the collective audience watching the broadcast, the staged and rehearsed mediatised production of this official act of public memory. Highlighting the vernacular practises of public memory, I will then

introduce a diverse cast of characters who perform *their* remembering in a strategic manner, revealing the multitude of performed public remembrances. This two-fold emphasis highlights the intensified separation of official and vernacular public memory manifesting on the anniversary and demonstrates how organisers and actors make use of embodied performance strategies in both settings in order to gain or regain visibility in the public sphere.

6.1 Setting the Scene

New Yorkers have a notorious reputation of being rude and always being ‘on the go’ (although I do not necessarily think it to be true). I have heard tales that neither of these traits are on display on the anniversary of the attacks. Each year on 11 September, New Yorkers are said to be more friendly, polite and courteous to one another; they are said to be contemplative, remembering the loss experienced that day. They would take time to look at each other’s faces and acknowledge each other’s presence, doors would be held open for strangers, and people would say “hi”, “please” and “thank you”. I was thinking of these tales when I sat on the Manhattan bound A train on the morning of 11 September 2013. There was no sign of any different behaviour. People went about their regular morning commute, cramped together anonymously in a rush hour subway cart, physically close but emotionally distant. Front page headlines of the few newspapers read by passengers were the only reminders that today was the 12th anniversary of the attacks. Other than that it was business as usual. It was not until I stepped out of the subway station and walked the familiar route down Fulton Street that it became clear this was not an ordinary day. Downtown *felt* different. There were more people than usual. Mixed in with the people going to work with briefcases were others, many of whom wearing some form of commemorative signifier: black awareness ribbons or red, white and blue ones, little American flag pins, or apparel depicting stylized images of the Twin Towers, the logos of the FDNY or *I Love New York* t-shirts. The police presence was greater than usual, too, with more men and women in uniform, some with heavy machine guns and combat helmets, and more mobile surveillance towers. People seemed more tense, or intensified, rather than more polite or contemplative. The

sense of tension only grew as I ventured closer to the memorial district, which seemed to have expanded because the symbols of remembrance displayed on people's bodies turned them into traveling memorials.

Large crowds had gathered in and around St. Paul's chapel at Fulton Street and Broadway. The historic chapel has its own story of survival on 9/11. Located across the street from the WTC, the church, the oldest public building in Manhattan (completed in 1766), was left unscathed after the towers' collapse. Although the surrounding areas were covered with thick layers of dust and paper, neither the exterior nor interior of the building and cemetery behind it had been damaged; even the crystal chandeliers hanging off the ceiling were still intact. Accordingly, the small church was attributed much symbolic meaning in ideological terms both religious and national, a divine message of defiance sent to 'Muslim terrorists'. Some believe a large sycamore tree that grew in the cemetery yard for centuries had shielded the chapel from falling debris. It was the only tree in the garden felled that day. The tree has its own memorial, *The Trinity Root*, an 18-foot bronze sculpture that stood in the courtyard of Trinity Church between 2005-2015,⁵⁰ just five blocks south of the chapel. In a gesture to the popular children's book of the 1920's *The Little Engine That Could*, St. Paul's has been nicknamed the "the little chapel that stood". It now has its own children's book with the same title rhyming the story of the chapel that "stood strong after the giants around it had come to a fall".⁵¹ From 11 September 2001 onward, rescue and clean-up crews occupied the chapel for physical and emotional rest and refuge (Senie 2016). After downtown was reopened, the mourning public used the fence surrounding the chapel and cemetery as an extensive temporary memorial site, covering it with hand-made signs and notes, flowers, teddy bears and other commemorative objects (Sturken 2004, Greenspan 2013, Senie 2016). Because of its proximity to the disaster zone the chapel-turned-memorial "became a focal point of national life" of remembrance (Senie 2016: 127).

⁵⁰ The sculpture was removed and relocated unbeknownst to the artist who sued Trinity Church parish in April 2017 (Barron 13 April 2017)

⁵¹ Back cover of Curtis, A.B. (2003) *The Little Chapel That Stood*. Oldcastle Publishing: Escondido, CA

Eventually, the spontaneous assemblage of tokens outside of the chapel was removed. However, the inside remains a memorial of 9/11 to this day. Several 'altars' exhibit stories and objects dedicated to the event, the rescue efforts and memorialising efforts afterwards. Displayed in rotation are children's artworks, badges and emblems, photos and more.

On the anniversary there were more exhibits than usual displayed in the church. The chairs were rearranged to accommodate additional memorialising altars and to allow more people to move through the small space. There were more signs, many of which had been preserved from 2001, banners and posters sent to the chapel for the workers digging and searching at Ground Zero from across the US. Arranged on a table were 9/11 photo books and merchandise for sale. Crowds of visitors, including groups of uniformed firefighters, wandered noisily from exhibit to exhibit. A group of Mennonites roamed about, sticking out of the crowd in their prairie attire and headpieces amongst the predominantly patriotic garb worn by others. Later I learned they were a choir who sang psalms in the chapel and other public places all over the memorial district. Visitors moved through the chapel, in and out, in quick intervals. I noticed a few people sitting quietly on the chairs in the centre of the chapel, hands folded, heads bent down. Their stillness and silence was in stark contrast to the tempest of chatter and moving bodies whirling around them. They sat as if in the eye of the storm, involved with their own private moment of silence.

After pushing myself out of the chapel I walked along the cemetery on Fulton Street. Vesey Street to the north had been blocked off and was reserved for news crews from local and national TV stations. Media coverage was heightened on the days leading up to the anniversary of the attacks, climaxing on the day itself with a live broadcast of the commemorative ceremony on several local networks. The ceremonies are an important factor in continuing and transmitting the public memory of 9/11 to a wider audience. Particularly the tenth anniversary in 2011 was given much attention by the media. Whereas the first ceremony in 2002 was held in the dirt of the 'pit' (the

bedrock of construction zone where the towers once stood), 2011 was the first year the ceremony was held at the new memorial. The coverage distributed the first glimpses of Ground Zero as a memorial and the first touching images of mourning family members *feeling* the name parapets, caressing ‘their’ names, clinging to them, kneeling before them. The public saw for the first time grief stricken people gathering and remembering by reading out their loved ones names at the finally finished memorial. Since 2011 the coverage of the reading of the names has decreased in scope, which brings to mind Nora (1996) who argues that what is perceived as memory is merely history, a phenomenon of forgetful modern societies reliant on memory traces manifested in physical form, *lieux du mémoire*. Sites of memory do not aid the preservation of public memory Nora argues but, paradoxically, are reasons of its demise. Because memory is manifested in physical form, so giving the illusion of permanence, memory is no longer practiced and experienced in its true form (oral and habitual transmission) and is therefore in danger of being forgotten. Young (2000) shares similar observations, arguing that memorials “do our memory-work for us”, and so contribute to our forgetting what is meant to be preserved and remembered (Young 2000: 96). The decreasing media coverage of the commemoration since the completion of the memorial suggests a confirmation of the concerns voiced by Nora and Young.

This day, local TV stations were still broadcasting the event live in its entirety. Reporters stationed near the chapel were taping segments for news-programs. Alongside the metal fence both on the southern and western parameters of the chapel, several street preachers and pop-up prayer stations had made camp. With booming voices, some evangelists announced the end of days, yelling of fire and brimstone and penance, while others yelled for peace or promised salvation through a returning to Jesus. Some spewed hate while others prayed. It was a surreal and unexpected scene, at times even comical given the extent of their zeal and fervour. Nevertheless the preachers made me uncomfortable, yelling of doom and hate at everyone and no one. I took their flyers nonetheless as I was rushing past them towards the memorial. Further down on Church Street the yelling street preachers

were replaced by yelling souvenir peddlers trying to sell 9/11 merchandise or cold beverages. The activities down here conjured images of a medieval carnival with soothsayers gathering in public squares, merchants touting their goods and crowds of people from all walks of life roaming the streets and, at times, haggling with vendors or arguing with preachers. The atmosphere had *carnavalesque* elements, although not strictly in the literary sense of Bakhtin (1984) who highlights humour, satire, exaggeration and reversal of hierarchies. Applied to the mood outside the memorial, the temple of the medieval town if you will, the sacred space in which the sincere and ‘authentic’ ritual of remembrance took place, the performances occurring at its edges were also serious in nature. Yet they had traces of the carnivalesque in that it provided a temporal stage for performances of transformation, critical interpretations and questioning of established norms and discourses, and of a (re)contextualisation of social and political forms and conventions (Stallybrass and White 1986) surrounding the narratives and practices of commemoration of 9/11. Along Church Street the framing of the tragedy was altered to highlight the state’s and society’s demise and to arouse fear, warning of looming destruction in ‘doomsday is near’ Christian religious rhetoric. But there were also other performances of reframing, for example those exhibited at Zuccotti Park, which attempted a reversal, or at least a separating of the political status quo and hierarchical power structures concerning modes of remembrance. I will return to these performances in more detail further below.

Santino provides some useful terminology to address the carnival-like atmosphere in the memorial district. Rituals and festivals are often viewed as related entities, an indication that they have the potential to move fluidly between states of gravitas and playful entertainment (Abrahams 1981, Santino 2009). Santino notes that “rituals are often festive, and festivals frequently mark transitions ritually” (Santino 2009: 9). Even “large-scale public events that are serious in purpose” Santino goes on, are “festive in nature, implying that this sociability undermines the stated solemnity of purpose” (Santino 2009: 9). He proposes the term *ritualesque* (rather than carnivalesque) to describe events that “overlap with seriousness of purpose, an

intention to transform society through symbolic action” (Santino 2009: 9). Throughout the day people assembled near the physical boundaries of the memorial space, often in a ritualesque manner: people with signifiers such as signs or attire, visitors and tourists, as well as numerous journalists. Metal road barriers had been erected that day, guarded by numerous police officers. The gates were an effort to control pedestrian movement as a security measure. Cars were banned from parts of the area altogether. The many ‘regular’ pedestrians were confined to walking on the eastern sidewalk, which was gloomy because it was covered by scaffoldings attached to the buildings on the left. The canyon felt congested as people moved at a leisurely pace, with many stopping and lingering, gazing at and taking photos of the Freedom Tower and the NYPD and FDNY personnel in Class A uniforms walking down the restricted street. They personnel were on their way to the ceremony at the memorial hidden behind the blue tarped fence. On the anniversary of 9/11, the memorial was closed to the general public; the theatre stage of remembrance closes its doors on its presumably most important performance day. The annual commemorative event is reserved for ‘memory agents’ of 9/11 (Vinitzky-Seroussi 2002), family members of the dead and selected guests, members of the armed forces, fire- and police departments as well as elected officials and other representative figures. Regular visitors are excluded from this official act of state mourning. In fact, it is the only day the memorial is strictly for those remembering personally those whose names are inscribed into the parapets (or at least it was in 2013. Since 2014, the memorial opens to the general public on the evening of the anniversary). Also excluded are many of those who experienced the attacks and ultimate destruction of the towers personally, those who had evacuated the buildings (or the neighbourhood) successfully and survived physically unharmed, or many of the workers and volunteers who had spent weeks or months at the disaster zone assisting in the clean-up, feeding rescue crews or providing emotional or physical support.

Some of the tourists I spoke with had hoped to visit the memorial “on this special day”. They did not know that it was closed, and even though they were a little disappointed, they certainly understood. Instead they walked around, loitered and

“experienced 9/11 in New York”, as a couple visiting from Germany put it. Although the ceremony and recitation of the thousands of names was in process, little sound of it escaped the memorial plaza to the people gathered at the fringes. In a strange way this created a sense of mystery surrounding the site: something secret (or sacred?) was taking place inside, highlighting the ‘memorial theatre turned into a temple’ idea. Outside it was the opposite. Out here, people who dawdled too long near the memorial entrance were shooed away by police. Out here, people were almost aggressive in their remembering, for example the two men I observed elbowing each other in an attempt to get a better view of uniformed officers walking towards the memorial, or arguments at Zuccotti Park between pedestrians and ‘truthers’ (conspiracy theorists who believe the attacks were indeed an ‘inside job’ and ‘cover-up’ of the government), or other protesters with signs who used the anniversary as a platform to stage their agendas (see below).

Not all people were aggressive. There were those sitting quietly amidst the crowd, deep in thought, some wearing headphones and tuning out the noises around them. There were those with commemorative and/ or patriotic attire. And then there was pageantry. I noticed many ‘Captain America’ t-shirts, one man even wore a full Captain America costume, including unitard, mask and cape ... an amusing outfit, but nonetheless earnest in his performance. When I returned to Ground Zero in the evening to see the *Tribute in Light*, an art installation of two light beams that re-appear in the night sky each year on the anniversary, the pageantry also included a (very) large group of bikers (very) nosily riding their motorcycles by the memorial on the Westside Highway, large American flags waving behind them. There had been a motorcade in the morning as well. Organised by the National September 11 Memorial and Museum and the FDNY Motorcycle Club in NY, New York’s Governor Cuomo led a large group of bikers (amongst them members of the FDNY and family members) in a wheeled procession down to the ceremony. I do not know whether they were the same group of bikers, but there were bikes with only a helmet in the back seat, which provided a haunting image of loss and absence.

6.2 Performing Official Public Memory

Before discussing in detail the annual commemorative ceremony I should address that its observation was done in a different manner. Because the ceremony was closed to the public as described above, I was not able to attend the service in person. The following account is based on the television broadcast of the event.

The events of 9/11 were televised, and how and by whom 9/11 was/ is remembered publically has also been televised ever since. The images of the planes crashing into the Twin Towers were immediately, almost simultaneously mediated through citizen and professional reporters. Live footage streamed the events in real time, making this a highly mediated event from the start. From before it was known to be an act of terror, through the aftermath, images were readily available aiding the creation of a shared memory of the day. As well the televised commemorative services brought ‘authentic’ moments of grief and acts of mourning into the nation’s living rooms, so setting the ‘medial frameworks’ of remembering, specifically ‘the medial processes through which memories come into the public arena and become collective’ (Erll and Rigney 2012: 2). According to Marshal McLuhan (1994), the medium is the message. The medium affects the society through delivered content as well as through the characteristics of the medium itself. An event can never be presented again in its original form. It is merely the copy of a copy, as one medium becomes the “content of any medium is always another medium” (McLuhan 1994: 8). The televised (produced, directed, framed, edited) commemorative service then does not convey passively the ritual of remembrance, but rather contributes actively to “shaping our understanding of the past [by] mediating between us (as readers, viewers, listeners) and past experiences, [so] setting the agenda for future acts of remembrance in society” (Erll and Rigney 2012: 3).

Keeping in mind these medial processes, I acknowledge my position as ‘intended spectator’ because I consumed the commemorative ritual through the particular medium of television. The ceremony itself is a choreographed performance of

remembrance and is examined dramaturgically as performance. The mediatization of it adds yet another layer to the staging. The ceremony is staged and produced with a wider collective/ national audience in mind. Hence, the editing and directing of the commemorative service will be considered and is subject to analysis.

The ceremony

The ceremony began at 8:40am with a solemn flag procession. Accompanied by a lonesome drumstick beating rhythmically in a slow metre of threes – *tak-tak-tak, pause, tak-tak-tak* – six uniformed men, fire- and policemen with stoic expressions, carried a large tattered American flag into the memorial plaza. The crisp whiteness of their ceremonial gloves stood in stark contrast to the dark red, white and blue of the symbolic fabric they carefully held. As they marched in – *left-right-left* – they moved in a perfect symmetry of bodies and sound. A pipe band followed behind in two rows marching to the same rhythm dictated by the drum – *left-right-left/ tak-tak-tak, pause, tak-tak-tak*. The plaza was quiet but for the roaring waterfalls cascading down the memorial walls and the lone, hollow beat. Then, the voice of a man, the flag carrier at the front left corner, began chanting a military marching rhythm or cadence call. I could not make out the words but the rhythm was familiar, often seen in depictions of military training or military life in films and television. As the flag procession came closer, another drum joined, this one resonating larger, more rich and dark. Together, the drums got louder with each step of the marchers, creating an ever-rising, ceremonial crescendo.

After a sharp turn left, the flag was marched through two rows of uniformed men who had neatly aligned on each side of the path. Standing in a guard of honour, the men saluted as the procession walked up the stairs and onto a stage that had been erected in front of the museum pavilion between the two memorial pools. The carriers stood still for a brief moment, facing a uniformed officer saluting with a

stern expression and guarding a large bell mounted *stage left*.⁵² They moved in perfect unison. In a tight choreography of sharp, neatly executed movements their bodies turned on a voice command (towards the audience that had gathered in front to the stage), then raised and angled the flag in the centre to provide a clear view of the national symbol. *Downstage*, the pipe band floated onto the stage, the two rows parting and coming to a halt behind the flag and the men holding it, framing them, all underscored by the slow *tak-tak-tak, pause, tak-tak-tak* of the drums. From *stage left* and *stage right* came straight lines of young people in blue and black attire, the Brooklyn Youth Chorus, and assembled in front of the stage. Marching in symmetry, their movements were as meticulously choreographed and executed as that of the uniformed men. Once in place, they stood silently as if hypnotized by the rhythmic drums: *tak-tak-tak, pause, tak-tak-tak pause*, then a *tak-TOK-TOK*, stop. The camera lingered on a close up of the uniformed man guarding the bell, his stoic mouth framed by a stoic moustache. Then the choir began to sing the National Anthem. As the melody filled the plaza the camera panned over the flag and the uniformed officers holding it. Meticulously timed, the song ended at 8:46am sharp; 8:46, the time the first plane struck the North Tower. The moustached man rang the bell, a single crisp tone. The high and full *ding* of remembrance echoed through the plaza to mark the first hit, the first deaths in New York City.

The patriotically themed infographic on the television feed read: “Moment of Silence: 8:46 First Plane Struck the North Tower”. The plaza and those in attendance quieted. Panning over the setting, the camera captured a mourning audience (en)acting the moment of silence with heads bowed and hands folded, then focused in on a group of women in black mourning attire, weeping, embracing and consoling each other. The feed became a split screen, cutting to a parallel scene of grieving family members, then the presidential ceremony on the lawn of the White House where then President Obama, the first Lady, Vice President Joe Biden and his wife

⁵² I am using terminology of theatre blocking, the physical staging of actors and action for dramatic effect, cohesion, visibility (for audiences), etc. The terms reflect the actor’s perspective: *upstage* is the area of the stage farthest from the audience, towards the back of the (traditionally configured) stage [↑]. Moving clockwise, it follows *stage left* [➡], *downstage* [↓], and *stage right* [↩], with *centre stage* occupying the space, well, in the centre.

Jill (re)enacted the moment of silence using the same bodily repertoire (Taylor 2003), dressed in colours of mourning and heads bowed low. In New York the silence was ended by the pipe band leader who gave a voice command before the bagpipers began to play a haunting tune. The choreography in Washington D.C. seemed synced to the staged ceremony at Ground Zero. The pipe band played and began to march off the stage. Another voice command came, and the flag carriers followed suit. Simultaneously, the four representatives of the nation on the lawn in D.C. turned and walked back to the White House as if to demarcate the end of the national part of the commemorative act. At 8:48am the flag had been carried out of the plaza. The pipe music and drumming had stopped and was replaced by a soothing melody of a chamber quartet. With the strings in the background, the annual ritual of the reading of the victims' names began.

Lena had mentioned that she had been a reader once. In the first decade of commemoration, the readers were chosen based on a theme, for instance "The loss of a Child" in 2004, "The Loss of a Spouse or Partner" in 2006, "First Responders" 2007 or "Rebuilding" in 2010 (Lukinson 2012). Lena took part in 2005; the theme was "The Loss of a Sibling". There was no recognisable theme this year; readers were siblings, children, parents, partners, aunts and uncles, in-laws, cousins, nieces and nephews. There were quite a lot of children who had not been born yet in 2001. The procedure of the ritual was the same, however. In pairs, family members spoke at a podium (there were two podiums on stage, four readers in total), centred behind them a uniformed officer. The readers took turns reciting the names in alphabetical order. They each read circa twelve names before concluding with 'their' loved one ("and my uncle ...") about whom, or to whom they said a few words. Some spoke only a brief sentence, others gave a speech; some were highly emotional, others quite composed. Overall, the reading went smoothly but for minor mishaps such as losing their place in the list or cutting each other off. The television feed attempted to screen-caption the names (including a photo of the deceased), but it was rather inaccurate and rarely matched. During the recitation, the camera would occasionally pan over the plaza depicting the *mise-en-scene*: mourners engaging with the

memorial, making rubbings, leaving flowers, praying or weeping. At times split-screens placed the ceremony next to 1 WTC (this was the first ceremony underneath the new tower), showed footage of other memorial services, or depicted American flags.

At 9:03am the name reading stopped. The bell was struck again, twice this time, *ding ding*, marking the time the second plane hit the South Tower. It was followed with a moment of silence. Again, the camera panned over the (en)actors and audience in the plaza partaking bodily (and ‘appropriately’) in the convention. Then the name recitation continued. The reading ritual was stopped four more times: at 9:37am when the plane struck the Pentagon, at 9:59am when the South Tower fell, at 10:03am when Flight ’93 crashed into the field in Pennsylvania, and at 10:28am, the time the North Tower collapsed. Each time was marked with a moment of silence following the sounding of the bell. Each time one more strike was added, till there were six crisp, high-pitched *dings* of remembrance. After this last observance the incantation of the nearly 3000 names continued uninterrupted, underscored by classical music, until 12:57pm when the final name was read. The youth choir marched in and onto the stage once more to sing a final song, *You Raise Me Up*. They earned applause and cheers from the audience. The choir then parted, making space for a uniformed officer with a trumpet to take centre stage. Her melancholic brass instrument played the first notes of *Taps*, the familiar bugle call played at military funerals and flag ceremonies, often at dusk. The lonesome notes were answered by two more trumpets, one player stood at the North Pool, the other at the South Pool, and together they finished the solemn melody. At the end, at 1:02pm, the musicians and the other uniformed officers in attendance saluted, their formal gesture concluding the nearly four and a half hour long twelfth commemorative ceremony.

The ceremony as performance.

I have likened the memorial to a temple in which the sacred ritual of the reading of the names takes place. Returning to the idea and considering it in conjunction with dramaturgy, the commemorative service and the actors (en)acting it can be framed in terms of classical Greek theatre. In ancient Greece “places of performance were constructed on public land, either in the park associated with major temples or in the central marketplace” (Brockett and Hildy 2003: 27). The designers and producers of the 9/11 memorial envisioned and intended the space as that, a public (and sacred) square (Fehrenbacher 2016). During this research the space had not gained this public characteristic, because it was still restricted and ticketed. Nevertheless, it was available for public use for 364 days a year. On the day of the anniversary, however, the memorial’s prestige was elevated to ‘temple status’. Greek drama was performed on special occasions, days of worship and festivals. The stories or poems (en)acted were usually of religious and/ or civic merit, so shaping and forging a shared cultural identity.

In terms of the commemorative service, two characteristic features of drama in particular can be abstracted: *prologue* and *chorus*. Usually at the beginning of the performance, the prologue serves an introductory purpose, as a scene-setting device that informs the spectators about the performance they are about to see, such as necessary background information, historical or otherwise, its theme or tone. In this sense the prologue provides the frame through which the performance is to be interpreted and/or understood (Goffman 1991, Schechner 1988). Keeping the expository and performative nature of the prologue in mind, the flag ceremony (fastidiously rehearsed and executed) was the prologue of the drama of remembrance, even though no verbal language was used to communicate with the audience. The tone was a sombre one, a choreographed funeral procession demonstrating that this was an event of mourning. The lone drum acoustically enhanced the visual of the uniformed bodies moving in unison, a multi-sensual poem without spoken words. Similarly, the bagpiping signified the tone and theme acoustically, as band pipes are a common feature in FDNY and NYPD funeral

processions and services. The most prominent visual of this prologue was the large American flag. The theme then was not just mourning, but state mourning, so placing the performance in a national/ official public frame.

Before delving deeper into the national frame set by the prologue, I want to introduce the second classical feature relevant in this discussion, the chorus. In ancient times, the tragic chorus would enter in a solemn, stately march, usually after the prologue. Here, there was no stylised entry procession. The chorus-like group was not even part of the ‘official’ cast of performers (en)acting on the stage. Instead, the members of the chorus were the spectators assembled in the plaza, the family members and others who attended the ceremony physically at the site. Brockett and Hildy (2003: 23) sum up the functions and characteristics of the Greek chorus nicely:

First, it is a character in the play; it gives advice, expresses opinions, asks questions, and sometimes takes an active part in the action. Second, it often establishes the ethical or social framework of the events and sets up a standard against which the action may be judged. Third, it frequently serves as an ideal spectator, reacting to the events and characters as the dramatist might hope the audience would. Fourth, the chorus helps to set the overall mood of the play and of individual scenes and to heighten dramatic effects. Fifth, it adds movement, spectacle, song and dance, and thus contributes much to theatrical effectiveness. Sixth, the choral passages serve an important rhythmical function, creating intervals or retardations during which the audience may reflect upon what has happened and what is to come.

Following the position I have taken throughout this thesis, that actor and audience are engaged in performance, Brockett and Hildy’s (2003) definition of the chorus as characters fits two-fold. On the one hand, grieving and mourning family members have been featured players in the tragedy of 9/11 since 11 September 2001, “have been gawked at” for over a decade as Lena put it. As discussed in Chapter 4, family members doing remembering cannot *not* be viewed as performing. On the other hand, the ceremony was televised, staged and directed for a national audience

elsewhere, was doubled if you will. In this sense the mediated performance I watched on my television screen was almost like a play within a play: the choreographed ritual in the plaza, filtered and edited by the broadcast director who decided when and on whom to zoom, or when and what would be shown on split screen. This subverted the illusion of family members' private or intimate mourning at the memorial and the prohibition of general public access on this day. Although not physical present the public was indeed watching the mourners, blurring the lines between public and private.

Voluntary or not, the family members in attendance were staged as a performing chorus. The televised close-ups of mourning family members emotionally doing their remembering and (en)acting the memorial was choreographed in accordance with the dramaturgical script of the commemorative master narrative and the memorial space. The spectator/chorus performed publically an idealised way of remembering, a remembering appropriate for the 'sacred site'. By focusing cameras on the bodily gestures and behaviours of "ideal spectators" the chorus gave 'authenticity' and dramatic effect to this performance of national mourning. Staging the audience assembled in the plaza like a Greek chorus was done for a wider audience watching the performance in a mediatised way. As much as the commemorative ritual was an event of remembrance for the family members, the performance was equally addressed to the nation. Because the spectator/chorus at the plaza was staged in this way they were instructors of sorts, or illustrations, and established an appropriate ethical and moral framework or template through which the memorial ought to be interpreted and (en)acted. By focusing on the emotive bodily repertoire of the chorus (Taylor 2003), the staging utilised the persuasiveness of affect, which, as discussed in Chapter 5, is sticky (Ahmed 2004), transferable (Brennan 2004) and jumping between bodies (Stewart 2007), here the audiences both at the site and at home.

Rituals are performed with the intent of producing both affect and effect, emotion and transformation, in order to establish national cohesion and solidarity. There is a

bureaucratic logic involved in the public staging of ritual and spectacle, which Handelman (1998) understands as ‘acutely visual’ tools that aim to unite. Returning to the prologue, the flag ceremony, the large tattered flag carried by stoic uniformed men in a tightly choreographed procession, was acutely visual in its establishing of the theme of state mourning. Public rituals are mechanisms geared towards the (re)creation of society through collectively shared experiences and the arousal of emotional bonds (Durkheim 2008 [1915]). Etzioni (2000) speaks of *recommitment holidays*, holidays that employ “narratives, drama, and ceremonies to directly enforce commitments to shared beliefs” (Etzioni 2000:47). Although 11 September is not an official day of remembrance, the day utilised the tools described by Etzioni. The ceremony was a recommitment of shared beliefs in terms of the national master narrative centred on national resilience and overcoming. It also represented the public annual (repeated) recommitment to the victims and their families, a stately upholding of the promise ‘to never forget’.

Family members, too, upheld this promise by performing remembrance on stage to ensure visibility or (re)appearance of the dead in a public sphere. The long ritual of reading out loud the names of each victim is repeated every year. The quote at the beginning of this chapter points to the re’s that make a performance (Kartsaki and Schmidt 2015). The commemoration was rehearsed, evidenced by the sharp and flawless execution of choreography performed by multiple actors. It drew on a wide repertoire of restored behaviours, recognisable conventions such as the musical choices or the gestures of mourning exhibited by the spectator/chorus. The ritual was one of (re)enactment as it is repeated each year and family members (re)enact their own physical returning to the site. To examine the act of reading the names of the dead I want to draw particular attention to recitation.

The reading out loud of the names was a verbal expression of remembrance. Like the tactile caressing of the cut-out names of the memorial (see Chapter 4) recitations

were a way of making absence present. In their recitations family members performed an act of ‘presencing’. The

voicing of the naming of the dead may be understood as a practice of ‘bringing them to mind’, of making the past present, as a learning about who has gone and that they have gone violently. Naming in these terms is most often presented as a spectral procession, an attempt to individuate the dead. (Simon and Rosenberg 2005: 85)

After reciting several names in rhythmic monotony, each reader concluded with the name of their family member, introducing the relationship with the deceased (parent, child, sibling, partner, cousin, aunt or uncle in-law, etc.) and adding a few words, for instance personal anecdotes or descriptions of the person’s character traits. Many of the readers not only spoke *about* the dead but spoke *to* the dead. Examples include: “I miss you so much”, “We think of you everyday”, “You would be so proud of them”, “Keep watching over us” or “Say hi to grandma”. By speaking to the dead directly the readers performed publically a kind of dialogue with dead. Simon and Rosenberg (2005) warn that the practice of naming rituals, although intended to individualise the dead, tend to instead ‘massify’ them. This certainly seemed the case during the over four hour-long recitation of nearly 3000 names. The rhythmic listing offered no vocal variations, turning them into chant-like incantations. Incantation according to Ricoeur (2004: 53) is “the voiding of absence”, is an “act of imagination ... destined to produce the objects of one’s thoughts, the things one desires, in a manner that one takes possession of it” (Satre, citred in Ricoeur 2004: 53). The public performance of naming intended to (re)turn the deceased, if only briefly, to public consciousness. While the intonation of the names gave the dead imagined form to some extent (by saying the name), it was through the personalising and dialogic speeches that individuality was (re)turned to the victims. These stories brought to the front (the public stage) the relationships the dead had in life in a live and ‘living’ manner (Hallman and Hockey 2001, Maddrell 2013). In this the performance (en)acted the ceremony by giving a sense of ‘authenticity’ to the staged ritual of remembrance.

Some of the readers used the public stage strategically to ensure the continuing of the memory of 9/11 and the dead. For instance, one family member pleaded publically for a governmental implementation of national holiday of 9/11 remembrance. Concerned about the preservation of its memory he stated that “kids today know when the next iPhone is coming out or when the next Justin Bieber concert is but they don’t know about 9/11. Let’s change that please”. His speech was met with applause from the assembled crowd at the memorial, who up to this point had not done so. Other speakers used the platform to expand the public remembrance by naming victims’ of the attacks not part of the commemorative master narrative and the memorial. A well-spoken woman reading in remembrance of her brother took the opportunity to also remember and name publically her sister “who died last year because of 9/11 after suffering for 11 years”. No details of the sister’s cause of death were revealed but it likely her death was related to toxins. A young boy extended the public narrative further by acknowledging the mental struggles and trauma caused by the event. After naming his dead cousin he honoured his mother who he called a ‘survivor victim’.

Although speakers performing remembrance added to the repertoire of remembrance, they performed according to the dramaturgical script. Throughout the recitation readers performed according to the frame set out by the prologue which established the official ceremony as an act of state mourning. Name readers (en)acted within the national commemorative master narrative performing bodily through costumes and props (t-shirts, hats, pins and such) decorated with patriotic symbols and verbally by ending their speeches with “God Bless America” or some variation of the phrase. The performances of the readers, along with the prologue and chorus, contributed to the official framing of the ceremony by (re)enacting to the public the commemorative master narrative. In this, ideas regarding a shared, collective remembrance was performed, unifying the nation in this act of mourning.

Public rituals aim to unite (Durkheim 2008 [1915], but can potentially divide a society (Handelman 1998). Rituals and incantations tap into imagination, and in that allow for the imagining of alternatives and contestation. Aside from a few minor deviations,⁵³ the official ceremony behind the temple walls of the blue tarped fence did perform in accordance with the official commemorative master narrative of 9/11. Beyond the parameters, however, just a few steps away, noisy expressions of alternative types of remembering, counter-memory and anti-remembrance were performed simultaneously on side stages.

6.3 Performing Vernacular Public Memory

In the scene-setting narration in the beginning of this chapter I set the tone of the anniversary day. On this day the memorial district was filled with people normally not found there. Mixed with the usual tourists were other performers, smartly uniformed men and women, shouting preachers, costumed individuals performing pageantry and more. In the following section I will turn my attention to two particular kinds of characters performing various kinds of vernacular public memory outside the memorial space, truthers and rememberers, who perform strategically alternative and anti narratives of 9/11 and its remembrance.

Truthers

As early as 2001, conspiracy theories surrounding the 11 September terror attacks entered the public sphere. Actively involved in the distribution of such theories was the *9/11 Truth Movement*, whose members claim that 9/11 was an ‘inside job’ orchestrated by the Bush administration to provide an impetus for the invasion of the Middle East and the seizure of foreign oil (Warner and Neville 2014). Conspiracies floating amongst *Truthers* are varied: the planes were not hijacked but shot down by

⁵³ For instance, a fifteen-year-old reader used her time at the podium to ask then President Obama to “please not bring us to another war”. Two weeks prior the President had sought Congressional approval for military action against the Assad regime in Syria. While some applauded her courage, others were appalled by the girl’s ‘politicising this sombre day of remembrance (McCalmont 2013).

US missiles, despite warnings and ample time to prevent the planes from hitting their targets, responses were purposefully delayed, the damage to the Pentagon was caused by a missile rather than a plane, or the Twin Towers had been planted with strategically placed explosive devices ensuring their collapse (Hargrove 2006, Warner and Neville-Shepard 2014). Whereas some claims seem far-fetched, others are presented as persuasive arguments and convenience many. The Truther movement was “not a fringe phenomenon. It is a mainstream political reality” (Grossman 2006), revealing the population’s deep mistrust of their own government.

On the anniversary I wandered about the memorial district. In Zuccotti Park I noticed a couple of men clad in matching leather vests who stopped passersby and talked to them in urgent voices. One of the men wore a fire helmet. At first they did not seem any different from others gathered around the memorial. From afar the logo stitched onto their vests seemed but a variation of a stylized FDNY/ 9/11 emblem. Upon closer inspection, however, the logo turned out to be a truther logo: Centred inside a circle created by the words “Ghosts of 9/11” and “Inside Job” were two skeletons, the larger was one was a fireman with the number 343 (the number of men lost by the FDNY) written on its red helmet, pointing a boney finger in Uncle Sam ‘I want You’ Army recruitment fashion. The second skeleton in the background wore a NYPD uniform, glaring accusingly at whomever. Through their attire they drew attention – the fire helmet appeared to give the man authenticity. Perhaps accidental audiences assumed he was a member of the FDNY, or at least an authority figure to speak on matters about 9/11, a notion reminiscent of Sturken’s (2007) ring of intensity and the hierarchy of grief. The reactions of those stopping to listen varied. Some listened attentively, shocked by the tales or ‘truths’ told. Others just waved them off, rolling their eyes at the “nutters”. Then there were those entering an argument, calling out the truthers on the absurdities of their claims, insisting that this should be a day of remembrance and rejecting the men’s ‘counter-performances’ altogether. These people resisting echoed the (futile) notion of depoliticising 9/11 and its remembrance. By questioning the official commemorative master narrative, the truthers questioned the remembering of the attacks, as well as the nation itself.

The arguing passersby challenged the “individuals who upset the moral economy of a community, who threaten its integrity, or represent unpopular political positions” (Santino 2009: 17).

There were other performances by truthers throughout the day. One in particular stood out because it was a staged a press conference, and until I attended I had no idea that this was a truther event. These were a different kind of truther, less concerned with conspiracy theories regarding the terror attacks and more about the current state of government. I had heard that a 9/11 Memorial Service and Press Conference was scheduled for 1pm at the western end of Zuccotti Park. The announcement stated that

The human rights organization the American Freedom Defense Initiative (AFDI), a group of 9/11 family members, and noted human rights activists are holding a joint press conference and memorial service at Ground Zero in New York City on September 11, 2013, the twelfth anniversary of the 9/11 jihad terror attacks.

The organisers invited the public to join the service and press conference on this “national day of grieving and remembrance”.

When I arrived back at Zuccotti Park a little before 1pm the small group had already assembled. Whereas the truthers with skeleton themed costumes had been a small street performance, this event was staged and choreographed. Flag bearers had arranged six large American flags in a semi circle around a microphone. Flags waving behind them, the group of about twelve was visible from afar. Their costumes varied, some predominantly patriotic, with variations of red, white and blue, others in formal business attire. Two of the flag bearers wore yellow t-shirts dedicated in remembrance of the co-pilot of UA Flight 175, which had crashed into

the south tower. The audience that had gathered were also mostly clad in patriotic garb. The truthers in skeleton attire had joined the assembly as well.

The press conference was also advertised as a protest to voice contestation against the memorial and museum, how it memorialised the dead, narrated the story of 11 September and against the repository of unidentified remains within the museum space underneath the memorial plaza. Amongst the speakers would be some family members who objected to the memorial and museum's handling of things, especially the housing of unidentified remains, from a "first hand perspective." Little did I know that the event organised by the *American Freedom and Defense Initiative* (AFDI), also operating under the name *Stop Islamization of America* (SIOA), an anti-Muslim racist hate group that has been deeply involved with the public campaigning and protesting of a proposed Islamic community centre⁵⁴ near the Ground Zero site and the spreading of Islamophobia in general. In fact two of the speakers, the two organisers and founders of the AFDI, have been barred by the UK Home Office for propagating hate (BBC 2013).

The organisers staged the event by creating a visually significant performance space. Both props (the flags) and extras (flag bearers) were placed in the background. Their arrangement created a space reminiscent of a traditional proscenium, and along with the symbolism, provided a contextual frame to the actor's (speaker's) performance. Located at the western end of the park, they had chosen a stage in close proximity to the memorial space, within eyesight but far enough away to not be removed by police. There was an obvious attempt to mimic familiar references of 'official' political speeches and press conferences. The American flags embracing the speakers signified that the performance was performed in a national and patriotic context. A microphone placed in the centre and a high-tech camera gave it the appearance of a professional production, or a regular political briefing. The performance was

⁵⁴ Media coverage widely described the centre as the 'Ground Zero Mosque'. After much protesting and campaigning the plans for the centre were abandoned.

disturbed however by being denied a permit to hold the press conference. Although they were allowed to speak under the 1st Amendment, they could not use voice-amplifying devices such as a microphone or megaphone. The microphone the speakers spoke into was merely a prop to signal legitimacy of their assembly.

Schedler (2014), exploring the protest and performance tactics of neo-Nazis in Germany, has highlighted how the far-right group is adopting visual strategies of opposing political movements (attire, hair styles, protest posters etc) for their own cause. Neo-Nazis no longer match the stereotypical skinheads with bomber jackets and combat boots and, instead, blend in visually with regular, and even far-left leaning society and culture. The change has been a strategic one to ensure continuous political relevancy in the public sphere. The truthers with skeleton vests did so by utilising firefighter symbols, altering them just enough to appear authentic at first glance. The organisers of the press conference employed similar strategies of 'copying the other' to claim public space in a performative manner. The press conference was an attempt to claim a space in the political discourse, as well as the physical space of Zuccotti Park (also see Chapter 5).

A woman named Pamela Geller, co-founder of the AFDI and organiser of the press conference, gave the opening and closing remarks. She was dressed in black with a red, white and blue awareness ribbon pinned to her blouse. Eyes hidden behind large dark sunglasses she spoke angrily about being denied a permit. She began: "We are gathered here to honor our war dead. 9/11 is a day of mourning. It is not a day of service, not a day of kumbaya nonsense. It's a day of mourning, the day war came to America". Although the event was billed as a memorial service and press conference, these few sentences, misguided as they were, were the only mention of anything related to mourning or remembrance. She continued to criticize the memorial and museum for its proposed \$24 admission fee and for the non-patriotic stance taken by the memorial's designers: "there are more flags behind me than there will be in the 9/11 memorial and museum. This is an outrage!" With each word her voice grew

angrier, as the flag bearers behind her bobbed their heads in agreement, performing bodily their supporting role in this strategically staged event. After her short talk she introduced the next speaker, a first responder with the Port Authority Police, who spoke (or ranted) mostly of government conspiracies and pro-jihadist complicity with the *Muslim Brotherhood*. Two more men spoke along the same lines, about the political denial of jihadi threat, anti-Muslim propaganda etc. The family member who had been scheduled to speak, a woman who had lost her son, his face depicted on a button on her blouse, seemed out of place in this strange assemblage of hate, though she was no less agitated than the other speakers. Her anger was targeted at the memorial and museum organisers, particularly the foundation's leadership, who "want to charge \$24 to visit my child in the basement". Family members were always allowed free and privileged entry to the memorial and now hold the same status in regards to the museum. I am not sure why she was so misinformed, but she certainly was angry and voiced her anger in a visible, passionately performed manner.



Figure 32. Truther press conference

Protest, much like performance, needs to be witnessed in order to be impactful (Berkowitz 1974). Considering the location of this particular protest at Zuccotti Park, the site of the Occupy Wall street movement, a closer look at performance/ space/ and remembrance is in order. Whereas the ceremony inside the memorial space was an ‘official’ public remembering and a public performing of state mourning, the performances outside the space were of a vernacular nature. Vernacular memory, so Bodnar (1993) asserts, is concerned with alternative, at times opposing views of the official, nationally promoted and sanctioned narrative of the past. The performances at Zuccotti Park were highly political and deviated much from both the official, commonly accepted master narrative of 9/11 and the way the event has been memorialised and framed in the public sphere.

Performed collective memory is often explored as a source of national (re)affirmation of community, membership and solidarity. However, there are instances in which these performances “reveal the cracks or even fissures in the community” (Burke 2010: 108). Zerubavel (1995) speaks of ‘countermemory’ to describe the oppositional public manifestations occurring in alternative commemorative events. Young (1993) has a similar definition of ‘counter’ concerning physical structures, ‘counter-monuments’, memorial structures that deviate aesthetically from traditional physical representations of public memory. The press conference held at Zuccotti Park, though not a monument, strategically mimicked the aesthetics of officially performed announcements of remembrance. In this it did not deviate but rather appropriated aesthetic conventions. The mise-en-scene was arranged for an audience, on a date and location that framed the remembrance of 9/11 in official terms. Accordingly, using the term ‘counter’ to describe the performance of this group of truthers is perhaps not the right terminology, even though in essence they were performing an opposition. The press conference was a multi-layered event that lumped together protesting family members, political ideologies and conspiracy theories. In this the performance was about rejection and not about remembering, which illustrates how the political nature of public remembrance is always (re)shaped, (re)interpreted and (re)appropriated

according to current needs and agendas (Walkowitz and Knauer 2004, Zertal 2005). Therefore, borrowing from Lozano-Hammer's (2002) concept of 'anti-monument', actions or performances that reject public monuments *because* they are a representation of a status quo, the term 'anti', for instance 'anti-remembrance' or 'anti-memory' seems a more precise way to describe performed activities that reject based on pretence and, I guess, pretend. Throughout this thesis I have highlighted that the performances of remembrance described are not *not* real. They are truthful doings and activities. The performance of this particular group of truthers, however, did enter the realm of make-believe and, to use a stronger term, deception.

In their doing of 'anti-remembering' they strategically appropriated the symbolism of official press briefings and other modes of official public remembrance to legitimise their performance to the audience (Schedler: 2014), including the choices of staging, choreography, props and costumes, as well as the stage on which the anti-remembering was performed, Zuccotti Park. Zuccotti Park is an urban, privately owned public plaza. It is important to make note of the space and its political relevance in recent years. When it was taken over by the Occupy movement, the park became a symbolic site for freedom of speech, public expression and protest against the establishment. The movement had no permit for amplified sound and relied on the 'people's microphone' to relay messages to the members of the large assembly. Sentences were passed along via crowd repetition. Not being granted a permit, the organisers of the anti-remembering press conference had to find alternative modes of vocal transmission as well; they succumbed to shouting. The small audience that gathered around the speakers yelling diligently into a non-functioning microphone had difficulties hearing them, limiting the success of the performance. Performing the press conference in this particular setting and spatial/historical frame utilised the repertoire of archive (Taylor 2003) and contention (Tilley 1994) in spatial terms. Interestingly, the concept of the Occupy movement and what it represents was something the organisers and speaker-performers of the press conference utterly opposed. One of the speakers who had condemned Muslims and the government's 'collusion' with "them" raged on the side-lines about the pulled permit. He was

incensed that the owners of Zuccotti Park had declined *them* (the truthers) a permit but had allowed deviants, “thieves and rapists”, to “house there like rats”. Leaving aside the falseness of these accusations, his rant reflected his disdain against ‘the other’ in general and his narrow, marginal world-view he had distributed before during his speech.

The dramaturgical text performed by the speakers was located in political/ideological margins not on par with official government and mainstream framing of 9/11 in this context. Although it was announced as a memorial event, the dead were not mentioned much. Focus was given to the ‘wrongful’ memorialising practices at the memorial and the ‘pro-jihadist’ approach of the US government. The performed text was one of anti, protest and anger.

The performances of these truther groups can be understood as ritualsque (Santino 2004, 2009). Their public acts were not purely expressive and symbolic (carneavalesque), but instead were intended to alter or transform the attitudes of the spectators. Santino (2009: 24-5) writes that the ritualesque is

a class of public performances that involve overtly symbolic images and actions, as well as other theatrical and dramatized elements. These share symbolism and some degree of occasionally with formal ritual, but are directed less toward the transcendent and more toward the sociopolitical realm ... these symbolic public displays share ... qualities [of] festivity, paradigmatic reproducibility, the use of traditional symbols toward a specific, often socio-political end, and performativity.

The overtly symbolic images and actions employed by the truthers, the men with skeleton emblems and the organisers of the press conference, were used strategically. Performance tools such as costumes, props and staging ensured a visibility in the public sphere because they mimicked and appropriated familiar tropes of official

9/11 memory. The following section, too, discusses performances strategies in the public sphere. Whereas the truthers performed a form of ‘anti-remembering’ the stories below are those of rememberers.

Rememberers

I now want to turn my attention to yet another form of remembrance performed publicly on the anniversary to explore the notion of return further. Unlike the two previous points of discussion, the following section is concerned with a few individuals I encountered on the anniversary around the memorial, particularly Zuccotti Park. These people were not engaged in organised or political agenda making, but were *rememberers*, performing their own, personal public version of remembrance.

Penelope

Walking around and observing at Zuccotti Park, I sat down on one of the granite blocks scattered about the square. A woman sitting to my left wore a navy-blue t-shirt with the word ‘counsellor’ written on it in white capital letters. She was gazing into the crowds quietly, silent with both voice and body. After a while of sitting next to each other I began a conversation, and she introduced herself as Penelope. When I asked her about her t-shirt, Penelope told me her story of 9/11. A therapist by profession, she had taken a leave from work after the terror attacks to volunteer at Ground Zero. For a period of eight weeks she had given emotional support to the physically and mentally drained members of search and rescue teams tasked with the recovering of corpses and dismembered body parts underneath the rubble. It was a hard time for all of them, she said, but it was a thing she could do, indeed was trained to do, to stop the feelings of helplessness that had gripped so many people throughout the country. Penelope tried to return to Ground Zero each year on the anniversary of the attacks, walking, sitting and remembering near the memorial as she was not allowed to witness the commemorative ceremony at the memorial plaza.

She did not mind that fact too much; it was here after all, *near* Ground Zero (not *at*) where her memories of the event and its aftermath were located. Whenever she did return she always wore one of the counsellor t-shirts she had worn during her time as volunteer. She (re)costumed herself each year, repeating her ritual of return in the same performed manner. I asked her why she thought she did so and, after a short pause, she supposed that it was because she hoped that maybe some of the crew members she had helped might recognize her and approach her. So far none of them had, “just people like you, which is nice too”, she said with a smile. By “like you” she meant people who sought a conversation with her, journalists who roamed the park, passersby, and now a researcher. Penelope here indicates an awareness of the publicness and performative quality of her presence and display, although she did not use those terms. She knew and even hoped that she would be seen by others by costuming herself in recognisable clothing. The intended audience of this performance, however, had not appeared or revealed themselves, at least not so far.

Initially Penelope drew my curiosity with both her attire and her contemplative bodily stillness, which in the spatial and temporal context of the day signalled that she was engaged in a *doing* of remembrance. “Doing,” according to Taylor (2016: 7-8), “captures the now of performance, always and only a living practice in the moment of its activation. In this sense, performance can be understood as process – as enactment, exertion, intervention, and expenditure”. The practices done by Penelope involved a recognisable bodily or gestural repertoire of mourning and remembering. A performance both is and relies on “reiterated corporal behaviours” and so “functions within a system of codes and conventions in which behaviours are reiterated, re-acted, reinvested or relived. Performance is a constant state of again-ness” (Taylor 2016: 26). Penelope performed again-ness not only by (en)acting reiterated bodily gestures and by physically returning to the site on this day, but also by utilising a specific costume (her (re)worn counsellor t-shirt) again and again in order to perform her deliberately audience-centred remembrance.

Public remembrance is often framed as a mode of transmission, for instance in physical structures, texts or the media (Young 2006, Erll and Rigney 2012). As such it is dialogic in nature and, as discussed throughout this thesis, requires an audience. An essential component of any performance is the body, “a privileged site in performance” (Taylor 2016: 117), and a medium through which the intended message is distributed to witnessing ‘spect-actors’ (Boal 1979). Whereas the emblematic costumes or (at times quite literal) uniforms worn by participants of the memorial walking and running events discussed in chapter 5 exhibited clear symbols of 9/11, affiliation and a sense of (national) membership, Penelope’s costume and subsequent performance were more ambiguous. In her returning she performed not a recognizable reiteration of the national narrative or mourning, but rather a personal remembrance in a public manner that anticipated audience interaction.

The Man in the Vest

Throughout the day I watched spurts of public performances of personal remembrance, spontaneous (en)actings of remembrance, similar to street performances. There were people like Penelope who performed through the body, with gestures and costumes, as well as props. One man in particular stood out to me because I recognised him from the *Father Mychal Judge Walk of Remembrance* in which he too had participated. With his forearms leaning on the scaffolding across the memorial fence at Church Street, his eyes were fixated on the blue tarp as if his gaze could penetrate the thick material blocking from view the commemorative recitation of the names. The fingers of his hands clasped together in front of him, his body was an image of stillness. I recognised him because he wore the same outfit he had worn at the walk: a black leather biker vest, its back decorated with a large American flag in its centre. Arranged around the flag were fabric patches, stitched on emblems of various fire stations. On his head he wore a fire helmet equally ordained with firefighter symbols. He was not as talkative as Penelope, more guarded in a way, but he was not unfriendly either when I approached him. I mentioned that I had seen him at Mychal’s walk three days prior, to which he responded in a husky voice that “it’s important to remember those guys”. He had participated in the walk before,

and he made sure to return to Ground Zero every year to remember at the site where *it* had happened. As suggested by his attire, he confirmed his affiliation with the fire department when I asked him about his vest and helmet. Although he did not go into detail of his association with the force, he referred to the first responder victims as “his dead brothers” who must never be forgotten. Then: “that could have been me gone”. During our conversation the man never used the term hero to describe the ‘heroic’ protagonists of the commemorative master narrative. Instead he talked about the exemplary sense of duty, loyalty to their profession and their moral prowess. Their death was a tragedy, but to him it mattered to remember the men and how they lived, not how they died. He spoke of shared drinks, picnics and golf-outings.

The Man in the Vest shared a different kind of remembering, one that verbally disregarded a mythicizing story of heroic sacrifice and 9/11. By focusing on the goodness of the dead in life rather than death, he expanded their story as well as that of the FDNY in a public way. At the same time he chose to tell and perform this remembrance publically here at Ground Zero, the place of their deaths and on their death-day. His remembering was not an alternative performance really, rather a magnifying one that attempted to broaden the conversation about the dead and (re)humanise them in the process. Whereas the family members partaking in the ceremony, too, performed a (re)humanising (and making present) of the dead through the incantation of each of the victim’s names, the Man in the Vest did so in a more collective manner, speaking of “the guys” rather than this or that person.

His public performance was strategic in a visible sense because of the costume, his vest and fire helmet, he chose to wear on this day. The outfit drew the gazes of others. Whereas Penelope’s costume was subtle and ambiguous (though no less strategic), the man in the vest was ostentatious in his choice of attire. In his stillness he almost seemed a life-like statue becoming activated only when approached. He waved off journalists wanting to ask questions. He found them “pesky”, because they kept coming and he had nothing to tell them anymore. This indicated that the man,

too, exhibited a sense of awareness of his own performing. His costume corresponded to characters in the play of remembrance of 9/11 and the protagonists of the commemorative master narrative because it related him to the dead firefighters.

Performers acting in a street-performance generally have no control over the audience who stumble across their performance. It is unknown who the spectators are or how they interpret and/ or participate (or not). The Man in the Vest selected the audience, those with whom he spoke and inter/acted (as in 'acted with' on this public stage). He inter/acted with audiences he perceived to share, or imagined to share, a sense of camaraderie, like other men and women in a similar costumes, uniformed members of the FDNY, and to a lesser extent me, who had walked Mychal's walk alongside him. I say to a lesser extent because I later watched him inter/act differently with those who could offer him more than just their attention in return, such as their own stories of remembrance. For instance, he engaged in lengthy conversation with a younger man, an out-of-town fireman. After talking about the tragedy of 11 September they shared memories of firefighter training and how they bonded with their 'brothers' over physical exhaustion, laughter and drinking. Again, it was the firefighter life and lives that were his focus rather than death. Like a mummer, the Man in the Vest seemed to operate on the principle of reciprocity. I do not mean mumming in the traditional sense, which involves a procession from house to house, the wearing of costumes, and a performance that expects a return of sorts, sustenance, money or a maybe a gift (Santino 2009). The return expected here was not material but emotional. Journalists could not offer a suitable exchange; neither could I.

The Ladies of Point Thank You

In the later hours of the morning I briefly left the memorial district to visit *Point Thank You* at a traffic isle on the Westside Highway at Christopher Street, just a few

subway stops north of the memorial. Every day from 12 September 2001 until 30 May 2002, the day of the ceremony marking the end of the search efforts at Ground Zero (see Chapter 2), a small group of people had assembled here to offer support and thanks to those working at the pit. With hand-made signs they waved and cheered on the trucks, busses, police and fire vehicles as they passed them on the 'heroes highway' going to, or coming from, their exhausting work. Each year on the anniversary, members of the group return, (re)enacting their own performance again and again.

When I arrived at Point Thank You a group of about twelve people had made camp in the median in the middle of the highway roads. A traffic light allowed easy access, and raised plant beds provided shade and seating. They had decorated their 'island' with signs and American flags and chewed contently on biscuits, chattering lively. Some of them wore custom-made Point Thank You t-shirts. The hand-made signs read "Always Remember" or "Thank You". Whenever a vehicle honked a horn upon passing them, the group cheered and waved their signs and flags, much like they had done in the weeks and months during 2001 and 2002. Assembled there in the sun and near the water, it felt a little like a picnic or a reunion, which it very much was. The annual event is a cherished occasion, a time to (re)connect and share remembrances. The group consisted of mainly women⁵⁵ and was very friendly and approachable. I spent a good while talking with two women in particular. I guessed both of them to be in their 60s. They wore red lipstick and large rimmed sunglasses, which is why I named them the 'ladies' of Point Thank You. The ladies themselves used the term reunion to describe their annual return to this place. Even though their volunteering at this spot was directly related to attacks of 9/11 and in support of those charged with the rescue work, their memories were attached to their past and present (co)performing at this little spot in the middle of a motorway. There clearly was a bond amongst the group. Other women chimed in during our conversation, laughing, offering beverages and biscuits, or acknowledging or tending to each other

⁵⁵ There were men too, but because I only spoke with the women (or only the women spoke with me?) I am referring to the group as the *Ladies* of Point Thank You.

physically via gestures of camaraderie and familiarity, for instance soft shoulder pinches or backrubs. This was the one day a year they all saw each other again, (re)enacting their remembrances with each other using similar, if not the same, signs from twelve years ago. The ladies barely mentioned the terror attacks themselves, instead speaking about their ‘after the fact’ feelings of wanting to volunteer and help somehow. Mostly they spoke of the time spent here at Point Thank You and the appreciation that they received from the FDNY, NYPD, and other workers, how fire- and police cars had stopped “to say thank you to *us* when all we wanted to do was thank *them*”. One of the proudest moments for the group was a ‘shout-out’ to them at the end-of-recovery-ceremony in May 2002, where one of the speakers highlighted the “little group’s” perseverance and stamina. This was confirmation that what they had done, how they had performed, had indeed mattered.



Figure 33. Point Thank You

Their annual reunion, the repetition of physical return, as well as the repetition of their (re)enactment coincided with an affective (re)remembering and (re)performing of doing something of import. While I was talking with the ladies, other passersby stopped as well to ask the ladies about their doings. People listened to their stories as cars and trucks honked and police cars sounded quick sirens. Waving their signs and

flags animatedly and giving the ‘thumbs up’, the ladies cheered and hollered, grinning with broad smiles, bright eyes and rosy cheeks of excitement. This was repeated again and again. The performance of their personal remembrance invited the audience’s participation in their doing of remembrance. A flag was put in my hand, and I was encouraged to wave and receive a honk. On this day, the flags and signs clearly indicated that this performance was related to 9/11, but unlike the other performed remembrances, this one was not tied to Ground Zero (and its proximity) in a physical sense. Strictly speaking, their remembrance of ‘9/11’ was not tied to the events but their activities following it, which they now (re)enacted. To spectators stumbling upon them and their public performance, however, the performance was about 9/11.

Through their costumes, props and bodily repertoire, the ladies turned themselves into living ‘objects’ of remembrance. Penelope and the Man in the Vest had done the same. All of them chose their costumes and props with a specific intent in mind, to be seen (Penelope), to exchange and inter/act (the Man in the Vest) and to (re)enact in public. Unlike Lena, who in her remembering was objectified by audiences involuntarily (see Chapter 4), Penelope and the others performing at the anniversary did so voluntarily, consciously inviting gazes and conversation, or in other words, inviting active audience participation. Richardson (2001) speaks of memorialising objects left at sites of mourning, calling them ‘gifts of presence’, gifts that make present the dead and give proof that someone had indeed been ‘there’. Here, the humans-turned-object, the rememberers, did not perform as gifts of presence only. Rather they offered to receive, receive questions, conversations, the opportunity to share and show and tell of their personal remembering. The rememberers and their performances function similar to the spontaneous shrines and temporary memorials constructed by people on their own accord, the public displays memorialising an untimely death or deaths and “combine the personal with the public ... the performative with the commemorative” (Santino 2004: 363). They are unofficial in nature in that they are neither mandated nor instigated by some governing agency, for instance a state or church. Instead they are “truly popular, that is of the people”,

expressions of grief or tribute (Santino 2004: 369). Here they were also a public tribute to remembering and, in case of the truthers, to 'anti-remembering'. Santino (1992, 2004) prefers the term 'shrines' to 'memorials' because it connotes the notions of communication, commemoration and pilgrimage, and, in their publicness, invite audience participation. In this shrines are as much about the living as they are about the dead. Whereas the official commemorative service inside the memorial perimeters was reserved for a selected audience, the performances staged outside can be likened to Santino's version of spontaneous shrines. They are unofficial, dialogic, performative and completely open to the public. Because the temporal shrines here are human performances, acts of performed remembrance through and with the body, no physical traces were left when their performance ended. They took their clothing, signs and props with them, maybe to return again next year. These performances were ephemeral; they disappeared and yet remain (Taylor 2003, Schneider 2001).

This chapter examined the different kinds of public remembrances, public and vernacular, taking place on the anniversary of the attacks. On this day the separation between official and vernacular expressions of public memory is intensified. While the annual official commemoration taking place inside the memorial is a staged event of official state mourning, the performances outside are street performances that audiences can stumble upon accidentally. I have argued that organisers and actors performing in each setting utilise performance strategies to gain and/or (re)gain visibility in the public sphere. At the memorial, these strategies involve a staging of family members performing remembrances in a mediated way and presenting them as an idealised and instructive spectator/chorus, as well as the expansion of the master narrative by family members reciting the names of the dead. Introducing the stories and bodily doings of a diverse cast of vernacular actors performing at the edges of the official site of memory, I have shown the variety of remembrances taking place. Rememberers and anti-rememberers strategically perform their own kind of remembering of 9/11 in public. By juxtaposing the official state ceremony with the vernacular street performances I have drawn attention to the multitude of public remembrances of 9/11 and the multiple ways they are performed.

Chapter 7. Reflections of Remembering

I began writing this thesis with an examination of my own memories of 11 September 2001. The exercise of *looking back*, well ‘after the fact’, revealed the social nature of ‘my’ memories, how the social and public filters through which memories travel shape them. ‘My’ memories are made and (re)made in a constant negotiation of past and present; they are *done* yet happen by *doing*. Remembering is the past made present. In chapter 2 of this thesis I introduced and reflected upon the social and active nature of memory, discussing them in relation to the national mourning of 9/11 and personal narratives of the day to argue the significance of understanding public remembrance as performance. Performance, like remembering, is an activity of the present. Performance, like remembering, involves mind, body and space. In performance, just as in (public) remembering, a successful transmission of the past, act, play etc. requires consumers, an audience who receives the performed act. The audience is made of spect-actors, visitors who observe the remembering happening around them and contribute to it with their own remembering. At the official site of the public memory of 9/11, many performances combine to illustrate the master narrative of resilience to tragedy. Vernacular remembering includes counter and anti- messages, personal narratives especially in dealing with the aftermath, and hero worship epitomized by grand performances outside the memorial plaza, walks and runs commemorating the heroes’ journeys. Public remembrance is performance, a performance that evolves. At the 9/11 memorial, the performance is anchored by the choreography of the space and memorial objects, which can include individual mourners. It is anchored by ritual events and by the multitude of individual performances happening there day after day. I conclude this thesis with another looking back, a looking back at the processes, the doings, involved throughout this research to discuss the textual performance of remembrance, this *done*.

Guided by the question of how and by whom public remembrance of 9/11 is framed, performed and maintained, this research cast the matter of memorialising as performing remembering. Throughout this work I have argued for a focused analysis of the performed – visible and bodily – activities presented by social actors performing in particular spatial contexts in order to understand how, if, when and where people subscribe to the public and/or official memory of 9/11. In the three substantive chapters at the heart of this thesis (Chapters 4-6), I unpacked the doings, the performed aspects of remembrance, of a diverse cast of characters acting and (en)acting different kinds of remembering in very different scenarios and settings inside and outside the memorial plaza. I argued that applying an analytical lens of performance to the study of public memory expands the sociological understanding of collective/ social/ public memory. Public memory as performance provides a tool for discussing the bodily doings and labour involved in the processes of the makings and (re)makings of remembrance in practice. Underpinning this research is the understanding that memory is social, and that (public) remembering is an activity done in the present with other people, even if they are ‘only’ considered an audience. Researching remembrance in terms of performance, as (en)acting, (re)enacting and inter/acting, strengthens the theoretical understanding of public memory – a doing in the present – because it provides a multi-dimensional methodological lens for empirical research.

Chapter 4 took place at the 9/11 memorial and introduced the characters of Lena (a family member), Frederick and Mabel (tourists), and Oliver (a local New Yorker), typical characters who might visit and perform at the plaza on any given day during normal hours of operation. The performances observed in the setting of the national 9/11 memorial have shown how the scripted environment (re)presents a dramaturgy of remembrance that both benefits and interrupts the corporal (en)acting of performers in the space. Accordingly, the space and the performed remembrances it prompts can modify ‘roles’ and multifaceted commemorative narratives. The notion of official public memory being fastened upon physical sites was challenged in Chapter 5. There I examined the commemorative *Father Mychal Judge 9/11 Walk of*

Remembrance and the *Tunnel to Towers 5K Run & Walk*. The two mobile or ‘ephemeral’ memorials (Haskins and Rancourt 2017) exemplify how official public memory is not necessarily bound to a physical setting or a *lieux de mémoire*, but instead can be a mobile mode of transmission of the official narrative of 9/11. The public processions are performed remembering. More specifically, they present as ritual-like (re)enactments that claim, reaffirm and subscribe to the politicised national commemorative master narrative of 9/11, which according to Zerubavel (1995), is a selective and often mythicizing account of the past to fit present (official) needs and desires. The empirical investigation of performed remembering of 9/11 culminated in Chapter 6 with an examination of the anniversary of the attacks, arguably the most important single day of remembrance. The performance analysis of both the official annual ritual of commemoration at Ground Zero, the memorial, and the vernacular acts of remembrance taking place outside the memorial space made noteworthy the amplification of performed remembering occurring on this day. The intensified separation between official and vernacular public memory revealed the deliberate and strategic remembering taking place on this day where, in both settings, organisers and actors utilised embodied performance strategies to gain and/or (re)gain visibility in the public sphere.

This final chapter weaves together the key findings of this study and considers them in response to the research queries posed, addressing the three larger themes present in each chapter: (1) the performances of remembrance are ephemeral, (2) there are multiple remembrances of 9/11 coexisting in the public sphere, and (3) public remembrance may be a performance of resistance, appropriation and contestation. In this chapter I will address the empirical and methodological contributions of this research further before sharing some concluding remarks.

The ephemerality of performance is a debated subject in performance theory. On one end of the spectrum are scholars who assert that “performance’s only life is in the present” (Phelan 1993: 146) and disappears as soon as it is done (also see Blau 1982 or Schieffelin 2005). On the other end are researchers who analyse art or film performances, that, through their very medium, question the liveness of performance (Auslander 1999). My understanding of ephemerality draws on Schechner (1988a), Schneider (2001) and Taylor (2003) who agree that the liveness of the performance act is indeed a fleeting encounter but nevertheless remains. They leave traces in the memory of performers and audiences, and new performances are recognisable because they draw on a repertoire of gestures (Taylor 2003), restored behaviour (Schechner 1988), are repeated and citational.

The 9/11 memorial and 1 WTC must be addressed when discussing ephemerality. Although not all chapters directly address the memorial itself, the site and 1 WTC played an essential role in each setting and scenario and dictated unique performances. The gazes the new tower drew no matter when and where the remembrances took place – beyond the blue tarped fence (Chapter 6), in the streets of lower Manhattan (Chapter 5) or at the memorial (Chapters 4 and 6) – demanded a bodily involvement such as a momentary physical alteration of posture or a stretching and bending of muscles. Performances of the gaze dominate the visitor experience at the memorial plaza and downtown NYC, aided by the design of the tower. Its surface reflects clouds and neighbouring buildings. Planes fly overhead. For the commemorative walking/ running events in Chapter 5, the tower and the memorial were a physical point of orientation, even though the ‘finish line’ was not the actual memorial plaza itself, only its vicinity. When runners exited the tunnel, their encounters with the tower were fleeting but significant. It signified the end of the road, the point where, their resilience and determination having been proved, they could celebrate and reflect in the company of others. The tower is a symbol of resilience. It too is the material expression of the official public memory and, no matter the individual performance, 1 WTC was an implied presence throughout.

The performances examined in this thesis were ephemeral expressions of remembrance involving the body, space and (co)performing audiences. Lena, a family member of one of the dead with whom I walked the memorial (Chapter 4), drew on a recognisable repertoire of gestures in her remembering of her brother. Her gentle interaction with the memorial was a bodily performance because it occurred in public on a stage that dramaturgically framed remembrance of 9/11. Her subtle caressing of her brother's cut out name was a fleeting and passing moment. Phelan argues that performance "disappears just as it appears, existing only within the limited temporal framework of a given performance" (Phelan 1993: 27). However, Lena's ephemeral performance of remembrance needs to be considered within the spatial framework in which it occurred as well. Tied to the memorial space providing the frame of remembrance of 9/11, her momentary, fleeting performance was viewed accordingly by witnessing visitor/audiences coming upon Lena's performance. Her moment of mourning became, for witnesses, the performance of a family member, someone affected by the event. Visitors who happened to catch her performance got an added dose of meaning to their visit. For them, the fleeting moment became significant. Amongst the constant performances of remembering, "the [ephemeral] performance itself is tied to the particular space-time event, and starts and ends as the performer and spectator encounter together" (Wilson 2012: 110). The ephemerality of performing remembering of 9/11 is directly tied to the 'theatrical frame' (Schechner 2003), a frame that aids the construction of meaning for both performer and spect-actor.

The characters introduced in this thesis – Lena, Frederick and Mabel, and Oliver in Chapter 4, the walkers and runners in Chapter 5, and the mourners, truthers and rememberers in Chapter 6 – all were aware of the commemorative master narrative of 9/11, though not all of them subscribed to it (see Chapter 4 and 6). Throughout this thesis I have highlighted the active doings of remembering as well as the bodily and emotional activities and processes involved in performing remembrance. Doreen Massey (1997: 322) applies this concept to places themselves, arguing that "places [too] are processes", and the impression of permanency is worked towards by the

producers of space, according to the determined mode of remembrance, behaviour, and the master narrative it means to support. Place and performance both exist in the paradox of seeming simultaneously ephemeral and durable, imagined and embodied. Place is a “constructive product of human experience, such that without human involvement, place would lose definition” (Trigg 2012: 3). Place is “filled by people, practices, objects and representations [and is] interpreted, narrated, perceived, felt, understood and imagined” (Gieryn 2000: 646). It is made by and through people (en)acting it.

The 9/11 memorial only becomes a site of memory because of the performers/ visitor/ audiences performing their remembering at the site. Thousands move through the space on any given day, performing and enacting their ephemeral encounters. This echoes Peña’s work on religious pilgrimages and her argument that a pilgrim’s bodily actions are “all that is needed to consecrate a place” (Peña 2011: 150). She describes those bodily acts as devotional labour. In the context of this thesis, the bodily actions in the space are understood as performance. Dwyer and Alderman (2008: 173-4) sum up that “it is not just that these performances happen in or at places of memory. Rather, the memorial landscape is constituted, shaped and made important through the bodily performance and display of collective memories”. Because visitors perform remembrance in the space so making it a place, its existence rides on a wave of ephemeral performances. This quality was made most clear in Chapter 4 with the concept of ‘(en)acted memorial’, a memorial that is imagined as a gravesite, visited by mourners who leave flowers and/ or other gifts of presence (Richardson 2001), (en)acting the site with their performance of remembering. Visitor/audiences add themselves to the (en)acting of the memorial in their roles as spectators, and their assigning of ‘roles’ to others (co)performing in the space alongside them. In the performance encounter Lena is and becomes the character of ‘family member’. The promise of seeing a performance like hers is part of the lure of the memorial setting. A visitor’s ephemeral encounter with the site is full of possibilities suggested by the master narrative. Barba (1995: 37) states, “The theatre’s raw material is not the actor, nor the space, nor the text, but the attention,

the seeing, the hearing, the mind of the spectator. Theatre is the art of the spectator". The performance "survives only in the encounter and re-encounter of the spectator" (States 2001: 72). It is in this relationship wherein the ephemerality of the actual performances of remembrance may deviate from the script. Oliver, who in his physical rejection of the space performed counter-choreography, had a fleeting performance that was not staged or 'put on' for an audience which is often assumed when speaking of performance. Instead his ephemeral doings were a performance because the publicness of the space meant "accidental audiences" (Haskins and Rancourt 2017) encountered his practices. A different kind of ephemerality was exhibited by the walks and runs outside the memorial space. The large organised public performances of remembrance of the *Father Mychal Judge 9/11 Walk of Remembrance* and the *Tunnel to Towers 5K Run & Walk* were 'physically aggressive' (Doss 2010), demanding audience attention via the disruption of space. They too were ephemeral, seen and stumbled upon performances and tied to a temporal and spatial theatrical frame, although the frame was not a specific physical place but a mobile space made meaningful through its (en)actment (Doss 2010, Haskins and Rancourt 2017). It is the audience who catches the ephemeral performances, whether their attention is demanded or whether they happen upon the performance by chance. In the moment of connectedness, the remembrance happens.

What makes these moments of remembrance special is that these are the fleeting moments when the absent are made present. It is in the elusive gestures of Lena's performance at the memorial when, to the mind of an audience spect-actor, the absence of a dear loved one is made apparent and known. It is in the reading of names at the official recitation on the anniversary when the absence of so many affects behaviour in the present. To read all the names takes hours, even if each name is but an ephemeral moment. To wipe water from a name carved from a bronze parapet brings that person briefly into the present. The memorial structure does not make the absence present, it is the behaviour of people interacting with the space that does so. Only in the bodily (re)enacting is the remembrance performed as "their live bodies are the means by which the past and the present negotiate disappearance

(again)” (Schneider 2011: 39). The absent can never be totally physically present. Their memory can only be present while being interacted with in some way. In public remembrance, these interactions are performances. In these performances, the absent have a conduit to persist, and memory is transmitted. The memories are not fixed. They evolve and are multiple.

Multiple

An essential component of any performance is the body, a medium through which the intended message is distributed to witnessing ‘spect-actors’. In Chapter 2, I drew on Connorton’s (1989) ideas regarding embodied memory as a useful starting point. He argues that a successful transmission of ‘memory’ over time requires embodied practices (performances) and designated sites, manifested memories, in and around which memorialising practices take place. These sites “are quintessentially about time and their purpose is to prompt remembrance. In doing so, they seal together commemoratively, even if momentarily, then and now, there and here, them and us” (Stanley 2006: 220). While this research has shown that the body and embodied memory in the form of physical sites are indeed a mode of transmission, it has also shown that the bodily remembering these sites prompt is not a straightforward affair. The narrative of the event ‘9/11’ is not necessarily the object of (en)acted remembrance. This observation questions the actualities of the transmission of a collective memory

Chapter 6 examined the official, state sponsored anniversary commemoration at the memorial at Ground Zero and the vernacular performances emerging at its fringes. Inside the memorial space was the official commemoration. Grandly produced and “acutely visual” (Handelman 1998), the annually televised commemorative service has the most classic trappings of a performance as it exhibits the theatrical conventions of production, rehearsal, choreography, actors, audience, staging and stage. Mourners in the plaza assembled like a Greek chorus demonstrating an ideal

and appropriate version of performing and consuming official public remembrance. Family members read the names of the dead, briefly making them present through the verbal act. Audience members are shown how to mourn as well as how important this tragedy is to the national identity. Outside the memorial space were the cast of street performers remembering vernacularly. These rememberers included Penelope, a counsellor who had offered her support to the rescue and recovery workers at Ground Zero. Costuming her body in the same attire she wore in 2001, Penelope returns to the site each anniversary to remember and hopefully to reconnect with those she had helped. The reconnection, she hoped, would be possible by someone recognising her identifying clothing. Identifying clothing was also chosen by the Man in the Vest, who also returns to the site each anniversary. Dressed in a leather vest decorated with national and firefighter insignia, the Man in the Vest stood quietly, gazing at the memorial hidden behind the blue tarped fence. When approached, he spoke about and remembered the goodness and life of firefighters, avoiding their death narratives. His remembrance was centred on living instead of dying, which is so often the focus of the official remembrances performed this day. The Ladies of Point Thank You return to the point each year on the anniversary of 9/11. Here they had spent the months after the attacks to encourage and support the rescue and recovery workers digging at Ground Zero with banners, signs and cheers. In this reunion-like return they too (re)dressed in signifying consumes and utilised same/ similar props to perform and (re)enact their remembrance.

The cast of rememberers introduced in Chapter 6 were intentionally engaged in performing publically alternative or additional remembrances of 9/11; they performed a remembering, or their remembering, rather than the collective version of the past, which, Connerton (1989) argues, is transmitted through embodied practices. Penelope's deliberate performance on each anniversary, her physical returning, the attire she (re)costumes herself in and the stories she (re)tells, demonstrates how she situates herself and her remembering in the grand story of New York on and after 11 September and its public memory. The performances at Point Thank You follow a similar vein as the visibility of their doing of remembrance coincides with an annual

reunion and (re)enactment with fellow rememberers, adding multi-layered meanings and multi-layered types of remembering to the commemoration on the anniversary of the attacks. These characters, through their public and strategic remembering, are much concerned with thwarting the idea of being forgotten themselves.

Public remembering and forgetting are closely linked (Halbwachs 1992, Zerubavel 1995, Connerton 2009, Noakes and Pattinson 2013). In her treatise of commemorative narratives, defined as “a story about a particular past that accounts of this ritualized remembrance and provides a moral message for the group members” (Zerubavel 1995: 6), Yael Zerubavel proposes that “by focusing attention on certain aspects of the past, it necessarily covers up others that are deemed irrelevant or disruptive to the flow of the narrative and ideological message” (Zerubavel 1995: 8-9). Because alternative narratives and voices are often neglected, they will eventually be forgotten in public memory, although, as Assmann (2008) points out, they have the potential to be rediscovered (sometimes through a deliberate search, sometimes by accident) and reinterpreted within differing contexts. The characters introduced in Chapter 6 have chosen strategically the anniversary date. The date serves as a temporal device, or a commemorative vehicle, to ensure continuous visibility in the public sphere and therefore to ensure continuous remembrance.

This research has further shown that the public remembrances and the commemorative master narrative are being adapted. This observation hints at just how fast public memory works. These altered versions of the narrative are not necessarily an alternative or counter-telling. Rather, they are expansions that include and build upon existing and established themes. Father Mychal’s walk and Stephen Siller’s tunnel to towers memorial run (chapter 5), are examples of vernacular events that coincide closely with the official state version of 9/11 and its framing in national contexts. Siller’s event and its bodily rituals of (re)enactment work as re-affirmations of national unity and solidarity in light of a national tragedy, but the absorption of

military action into the story of 9/11 demonstrates an evolution of narrative, a performed blending of different remembrances. The walkers/ runners and producers revive and transmit their shared belief to themselves and to others witnessing and performing in the public sphere by converting the streets of New York into a mobile and “living memorial” (Allan and Brown 2011). In doing so, they expand not only the narratives of heroism, overcoming and resilience, but also the ‘sacred’ space of the memorial and the memory the space means to ensconce. The performances discussed illustrate the malleable nature of public memory and how it is adapted and shaped according to present needs and, more pronouncedly, according to personal remembrances associated with the event, its aftermath, Ground Zero and normal American life before the Twin Towers collapsed.

The idea of multiple narratives and multiple remembrances, the very existence of multiple points of view, can be explored by highlighting the performativity of tourist (visitor/audiences) characters like Frederick and Mabel. The examination of their physical doings in the memorial space and their bodily encounter with the environment and structure showed that they are performing spectatorship. Fenemore (2007) suggests that vision is embodied, that is

vision as it is experienced as part of a multiplicity of intersubjective relations and intercorporeal perceptions, both of which are marked by a reversibility of trajectory ... Here, then, that which is looked at also acts upon what does the looking, the ‘object’ equally exerts tensions upon the ‘subject’ in turn objectifying that subject. The performer in looking back at the spectator equally objectifies them such that perception between the two is marked by a lack of a singular direction. (Fenemore 2007: 7)

The 9/11 memorial is one of NYC’s principal tourist attractions, and it through the tourists that the public remembrance is given scope and audience.

There are multiple public remembrances of 9/11 performed in the public sphere. While the performances involved in the commemorative walking/ running events discussed in Chapter 5, and the staged act of state mourning on the anniversary examined in Chapter 6, may appear more visible and intensive, the public remembering practiced by rememberers on the anniversary (Chapter 6) or Lena and the other ‘everyday life’ actors at the memorial (Chapter 4) are no less a performing and remembering in the public sphere. As the case of Lena has shown, her remembering and how it is perceived by witnessing audience/visitors becomes part of the memorial’s dramaturgy of remembrance. She involuntarily becomes part of the memorial, is transformed into a memorialising object if you will, and in turn is assimilated into the master narrative the memorial structure enacts. Memory is “clearly bound up with processes of place and emotional attachment to place” (Jones 2005: 213). When Lena is seen, that is viewed, as a stock-character in the play of remembrance, her character adds emotional authenticity to the (en)acted site of memory. Lena’s performing as a family member, although knowingly performed by her, is also assigned by the spectating visitor/audience who include her doing of remembering in their own performance of remembering. Awareness of one’s own performance and visibility in the public sphere does not necessarily mean that the performing is deliberate or strategic. Koselleck (2002) points out that memorials do more than remembering violence and loss. The commemorative function of a [war] memorial is binary, an identifying marker acknowledging both the dead (as victims, heroes, martyrs, victors, protectors, defeated, etc.) and the living. As a ‘gawked at’ family member, Lena’s role at the site exists somewhere in-between the dead and the living, which challenges Koselleck’s binary. Her remembering and performance becomes part of spectators’ remembering and subsequent performing. Performed are multiple ways of doing and (co)performing of remembrance. As discussed in the theoretical explorations of Chapter 2, public remembrance is created and maintained through repeated (re)presentations and (re)readings of past events (Wagner-Pacifici and Schwartz 1991, Assmann 2008). While these repetitive and strategic acts are essential to ensure remembrances’ effective and enduring presence in a collective (Assmann 1988), my findings have also shown that performing it is not always strategic or deliberate. The public memory is multiple and includes the unintentional.

The making and (re)making of public memory is a continuous process that is expressed in places of memory and in their margins (Chapters 4-6), through (re)interpretations and expansions of the commemorative master narrative and through symbolic rituals of (re)enactments. Because the (en)actors of public remembrance introduced in this thesis are agentic and emancipated (Rancière 2007) spect-actors (Boal 1979), one cannot speak of one conclusive public remembrance of 9/11. Through the analytical lens of performance, this thesis has shown that there are multiple remembrances which occur simultaneously on both official and vernacular stages of memory. They are formed and expressed through subscriptions and expansions of the official commemorative master narrative, and also through resistance to, and contestation and appropriation of, official public memory and the stipulated versions of remembrance the official narrative puts forth.

Resistance, Appropriation, Contestation

9/11 and how it was to be remembered was a process defined by contestation (see Chapter 1). Disagreements over the future of the space, how the site would be utilised, whether the Twin Towers should be rebuilt, how much space would be reserved for a memorial and what would the memorial look like, were debated in the public sphere. Varying interest groups, the nation, the city, lease-holders, family members, New Yorkers, and the general public, each had their own opinions and ideas for the future of Ground Zero.

Looking at the publicness of space, Lefebvre (1991) promotes an understanding of space that fits in accord with the notions of public remembrance discussed throughout this thesis. Differentiating between naturally produced and socially produced spaces, he examines how everyday practices, representations and spatial imaginaries influence the production of space. “Social space is a social product”, Lefebvre asserts, stressing that space “serves as a tool of thought and of action; that in addition to being a means of production is also a means of control, and hence of

domination, of power; yet that, as such, it escapes, in part from those who would make use of it” (Lefebvre 1991: 26). Meanings are contested, altered and substituted. This is done through many devices, including linguistic manipulation surrounding the spaces and places under discussion. One such appropriation is the discourse of ‘sacred place’. Linenthal (1993) traces (and questions) how sites of trauma are made meaningful places of remembrance. By examining the history of preserved battlefields and commemorative museums in the US, he notes that these sites are transformed into sacred landscapes when they are claimed by contesting interest groups, each guarding their ideal version of the events that took place and the ‘proper’ narratives surrounding a particular site. The discourse of ‘sacred’ gives currency to such locations, strengthening the argument that the specific site is indeed of import and worthy of commemoration. The discourse of sacred was adopted quickly after the attacks in regards to Ground Zero. The guidelines of the LMDC *World Trade Center Memorial Competition* and now the 9/11 Memorial and Museum define the space as “made sacred through tragic loss”. Once a winning memorial design was chosen contestations continued, involving design choices, financial disputes, the display of symbolic artefacts (such as the *World Trade Center Cross*), or the arrangement of victims’ names inscribed in the memorial. This research shows that the official public memory of 9/11 is an on-going process in part because of contestations to the memory. The disputes manifest in the public sphere in various ways, from the performance of bodily resistance to verbal contestations and appropriation of other symbols, such as nationalist or religious ones.

According to Nora’s (1996) *lieux du mémoire*, places of memory are representations of memory fastened upon sites (Nora 1996: 18). They become mere organisational stand-ins for the past, a holding on, because modern societies “are condemned to forget because they are driven by change” (Nora 1996: 2). Nora here associates memory, its production, maintenance and transmission, with memorial practices. Sites of memory are embodied memories. Because they are manifested in physical form, and so are perceived mediators of memory, memory is no longer practiced and experienced in its true form, therefore exists only in traces, as history. The key here

is 'perceived'. The 'everyday' performance of Oliver (Chapter 4) has shown that official public memory performed and scripted by the memorial is not necessarily subscribed to. Oliver, a local New Yorker with whom I walked the memorial, navigated the memorial plaza in unexpected bodily ways. His pace was swift, not in line with the measured choreography of remembrance proposed by the memorial design and observed in most of the other visitors I had walked with or observed. His navigation and bodily movements were erratic, radiating a sense of disorientation. Oliver's bodily performing of remembrance suggests that although he was interested in remembering, he resisted, rejecting the kind of remembrance the public memorial space put forth. He rejected the stipulated looking down into the waterfalls and the forced shaping of his body demanded by the physical configuration of the site. He was unable to negotiate the official performance of remembrance of 9/11 with his own. The dramaturgy of the memorial site did not transmit its intended message, which in turn was expressed through Oliver's severe bodily disorientation. Oliver's acting out was a spontaneous outward expression to a place he hoped would provide him with a positive experience of remembrance, but did not. His resistance manifested as bodily performance reflecting his refusal of the official narrative ensconced in the memorial. While Oliver's resistance was an unintentional outward expression of an inner turmoil, other characters introduced in this thesis performed their rejection of official public memory in premeditated and strategic ways.

In Chapter 6, I introduced two types of *truthers*, conspiracy theorists who contest the official version of 9/11 or appropriate the attacks to enhance their own political and highly ideological rhetoric. The anniversary provided a public stage on which the truthers performed publically their version of 9/11, an alternative version of historical fact that, for instance, views 9/11 as a hoax or inside job, a cover-up plot devised by the government and lobbyists to legitimise an invasion Iraq and possess their oil fields (Warner and Neville 2014). The thousands of dead were merely collateral damage. The truthers street-performed their rejection of the official narrative strategically. The first group did so through signifying costumes and props that mimicked those utilised by rememberers, and walkers and runners of the

commemorative events discussed in Chapter 5. They wore vests with firefighter insignia (and a fire helmet) that appeared fairly standard from afar but upon closer inspection contained variations of the symbolism: the fire and policemen depicted were skeletons. Through the costumes and props they performed in an ‘acutely visible’ manner (Handelman 1998) to gain audience attention. “Performance”, Read (2013: xix) argues, is defined by tensions erupting in its “capacity for action and its appetite for reaction”. Tension erupted at times during the performance of the truthers. While some ‘accidental audience’ (Haskins and Rancourt 2017) spect-acted at the truthers performance attentively and agreeably, others dismissed them or rejected them aggressively, angered at the display of contestation of the commemorative master narrative on this day of remembrance. The second group of truthers I discussed had staged an acutely visible mock press conference that included a mise-en-scene of flags, a supporting cast of extras and a non-working microphone. Whereas the skeleton street-performing truthers contested the official narrative, the press conference truthers appropriated 9/11 to put forth their contestation with current government policies, drawing on conspiracy theories to justify and advance their racist Islamophobic rhetoric. Their event was not about the memory of 9/11, but they used the occasion, proximity to the official ceremony, and conventions of official remembrance to strategically perform their ‘truths.’

Whether in acute dramas like the above-protracted ceremonies of the annual reading of names, or in the everyday behaviour of visitors, performance dictates every aspect of public remembering of 9/11. The absent are made present via moments of individual gestures, and the space is made sacred by bodily contestation. The memorial space is the anchor for it all, but it is not the only stage for the many performances encompassing the multi-layered, ever-evolving narrative, the various principal characters, and the multitudinous spect-actors visiting the site anew every day. This research applied a lens of performance to the public remembrance of 9/11 because the remembering involves bodies and spaces and (co)performing spectators, and the lens of performance takes into account the passage of time. It understands that the remembering is done in the moment, then gone, and yet remains. The

performances are ephemeral, existing only in the 'theatrical frame' and the encounter between performer and audience. Furthermore, the lens of performance handles the multiple forms of 9/11 remembrance, manifested as subtle gestures or spectating (Chapter 4), or as staged production of state mourning (Chapter 6). Performances can claim and alter commemorative narratives and commemorative spaces (Chapter 5). Performed roles of remembrance can be strategically chosen (Chapters 5 and 6), be assigned or taken on involuntary and unexpectedly (Chapter 4). Finally, remembrance may be appropriated, contested or resisted through new performances.

The findings and arguments presented in this thesis contribute to the existing literature on collective memory studies and reflect the wider empirical, theoretical and methodological implications beyond 9/11 and New York City. Considering the rapid growth of memory studies as an interdisciplinary field in recent years, there are a limited number of works which draw on the affordance of a performance perspective, certainly used analytically *as* performance (as opposed to the representational or metaphorical *as if* performance). The approach taken in this research addresses the similar epistemological and ontological assumptions underpinning both the sociology of memory and performance. In this the thesis illuminates theoretical postulations concerned with the (re)negotiation of official and vernacular public memory, places of memory, commemorative master narratives and counter-memory. The modes of data collection through which the findings emerged provide methodological insight into the bodily involvement of public remembrance.

This research captures a particular moment in time in a particular place. It explores a snapshot of the making and (re)making of the public memory of 9/11 at a time when its official memory, although somewhat set in stone, was not yet completed or open to public remembering. This research contributes an original ethnographic account to the scholarly work dealing with the event of 9/11 in general and its memorialisation in particular. It highlights the important status and relevancy the event holds in the collective memory and the seriousness with which remembering is done. Moreover,

the empirical emphasis on the doing of public remembrance contributes to the ever growing canon of collective memory studies by addressing the continuous (re)negotiated meaning of the event's memory. The focus on performance and the characters and scenarios presented throughout this thesis question the narrative and text-based approaches to memory, which risk treating performance as only a mode of representation. Analysing remembrance as performance demonstrates that expressive articulation is indeed a form of labour and highlights the multitudes of remembrances (re)making the public sphere.

Methodologically, this research contributes to the field of collective memory studies which is still searching for a 'set of methods' to inform its development. This study introduces new possibilities for the study of public memory by blending ethnography and performance analysis. "Participant-observation fieldwork privileges the body as a site of knowing" (Conquergood 2003: 352). Entering the field and doing fieldwork is "an intensely sensuous way of knowing" (Conquergood 2003: 353). This view is not, however, limited to the researcher or those bodily present in the field. It includes the bodies of those she observes. Because of the performance lens utilised in this research, ocular witnessing takes a privileged position. The bodily performing of remembering is taken as an important source of data regarding the doing, making and (re)making of public remembering. Through the ethnographic emphasis on the performed actions and practices involved in the doing of remembering, this research has shown that much insight can be gained from an application focused on action rather than representation. Additionally, the research adds to the somewhat peculiar area of ethnography in public places, a setting not necessarily part of the canon concerned with traditional sites and settings of ethnographic work. Lines of informed consent are not easily drawn when observing and (co)performing in public places.

Considering the global affect the events of 9/11 had, this research is limited in scope in that its focus lies in the public memory of 9/11 as it was articulated in lower Manhattan. This thesis focused primarily on the performances of social actors,

particularly the bodily acting, (en)acting, (re)enacting and interacting of performers and spect-actors doing remembering both at/ with the memorial site and its vicinity. The conceptualisation of remembrance as performance can be taken to other sites of memory and other commemorated events. The disciplinary space between the sociology of public memory and performance studies has yet to be developed fully, and therefore this thesis provides a platform for potential future research. The cases and characters introduced in each of the substantive chapters are empirical examples of the effectiveness of utilising a performance methodology as tool in the study of public memory. The analytical approach of remembering as performance came to be through my personal interests in the sociology of memory and the performance arts, especially theatre. This particular conceptualisation of public remembrance as performance is an intervention to the field of social memory studies and offers interesting potential for future research.

When discussing Goffman's (1990) ideas regarding the representation of self in everyday life with students and tutees, the biggest hurdle seems to be overcoming the term performance. The word seems too tightly bound to notions of deception, make-believe, artifice, pretend or "not real". I hope this research has shown the seriousness of performance and the authenticity of displayed acts of remembrance of the characters introduced here. Of course 9/11 has been appropriated. It has been used strategically as political leverage or for personal gain. It is a subject that demands attention due to the gravity of the event. 9/11 is a serious topic. People died, people mourn(ed), lives changed. To many it was, and still is, a deeply emotional matter. Using the concept of performance analytically moves the study of public remembrance beyond an examination of commemorative practices as modes of representation, and instead highlights the active nature of remembrance, a doing, (en)acting and interacting in the moment, thereby offering an alternative perspective of public remembrance. Through my understanding public remembrance as performance, this thesis has explored the implications of thinking about public memory in those terms. It has highlighted how actors are also spect-actors (agentic and spectating actors) who perform in various settings and various ways, and are

engaged in a dramaturgy of remembrance that is informed by the commemorative master narrative of 9/11. In the physical articulations of remembering, these spect-actors are actively involved in the making and (re)making of the public memory of 11 September. The lens of performance gives voice to the individuals doing the remembering and honours society's need to make the absent present, if only for a brief time, by doing.

Concluding remarks

The stories told here are a snapshot of performed remembrances of particular actors, in a particular time and place. The 9/11 memorial is no longer a closed off, ticketed environment. Lines of people now form at the museum's entrance, which has been operating since May 2014. The waterfalls cascade now in the open, urban park Arad had envisioned. The cluster-points have wandered, moved towards the many access points available. The young trees have grown larger, their leaves shading much of the plaza. In a way, I have told and performed my own memories through this work. My own remembrances of a memorial space whose own performance was ephemeral and has left a trace. To borrow from Schneider (2011), this thesis is what remains.

Chapter 1 began with a quote from Henry who lived and still lives two blocks west of Ground Zero. During our sit-down interview he spoke at length about 9/11, the obliteration of his neighbourhood, the ruin and the desolation, and the area's recent transformation into a redeveloped and repopulated lively community. I want to give Henry the final words because they encapsulate so much of the spirit of how the (local) public remembers:

When I look at that now- not only do we remember what took place, and the people we lost, but when you look at it you really realise what came from these ashes. That whole complex is gone. We did come back. We did rebuild and soon it will be up and vibrant again. And we will never forget as they use that as their slogan. You can't. The memorial will remind you. And even if it wasn't there, every time you look

at the new tower, for the people who are old enough to remember the old towers, you will always remember what it used to be. So I think it is not just for those people, because they never were buried, they never were found, that is where their families can come and reflect, or they can think about, or celebrate the lost, whatever it is people need to do. But for everyone else, you always think about those people who died but when you really stand back you'll look at what they've put up in its place and it's good. It just shows you: fortunately we are resilient enough to come back to where we were. ... In spite of all the politics and the bickering and everyone who- you've gotta think the big scale, you just can't think only about the personal loss. It was something to say: where it was dust – and it was dust – we've now built again something magnificent. And at the same time, those people will never be forgotten. Their names are engraved ... You really feel like 'ok, they were really a part of this', this is what they gave their lives up for. And that's how I look at it. It was very moving the first time I went... I've seen it when it was devastated. But it was a good feeling. I'm like, 'ok, we did this'. (Henry, 13 August 2013)

Epilogue

Back to the memorial, a returning, three years after the fact. There it is. It just appeared. Gone is the blue-tarped chain-linked fence, gone the lines of people snaking their way through a maze of belts, gone the tightness. Everything is open. The memorial is free. Click, click. Fellow visitors take photos of it and themselves. I walk, no wait. It seems larger now, the crowds less cramped, less intrusive. The waterfalls roar less loudly, or do they? It feels different. Hopeful? Happy? Organic. The trees have grown, leafy roofs of green shading the plaza. They live. I walk, no wait. There: snakes, eager to visit the museum beneath our feet. They wait, I walk. The shiny new tower hovers above, a white ribcage rising out of concrete ahead, the Oculus; or fossils of a creature long dead. I breath the memorial, I see the memorial. It's free.



Figure 34. The memorial in 2017: An open, urban park

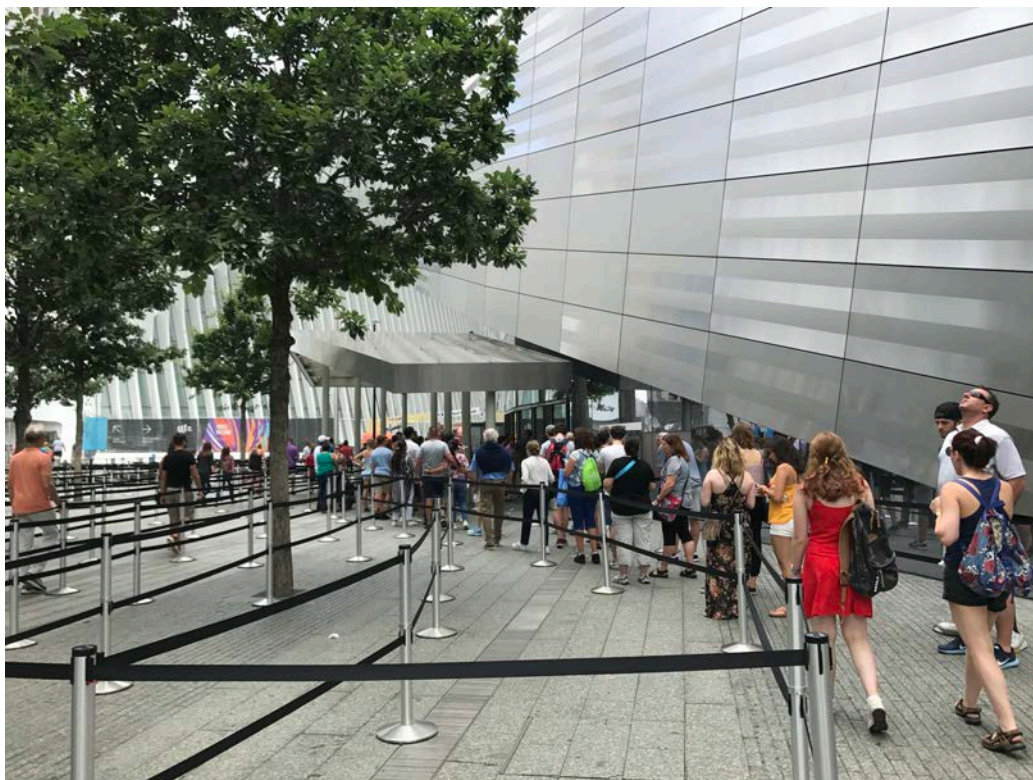


Figure 35. Visitors in line to see the 9/11 museum



Figure 36. Gift-shop in the memorial plaza

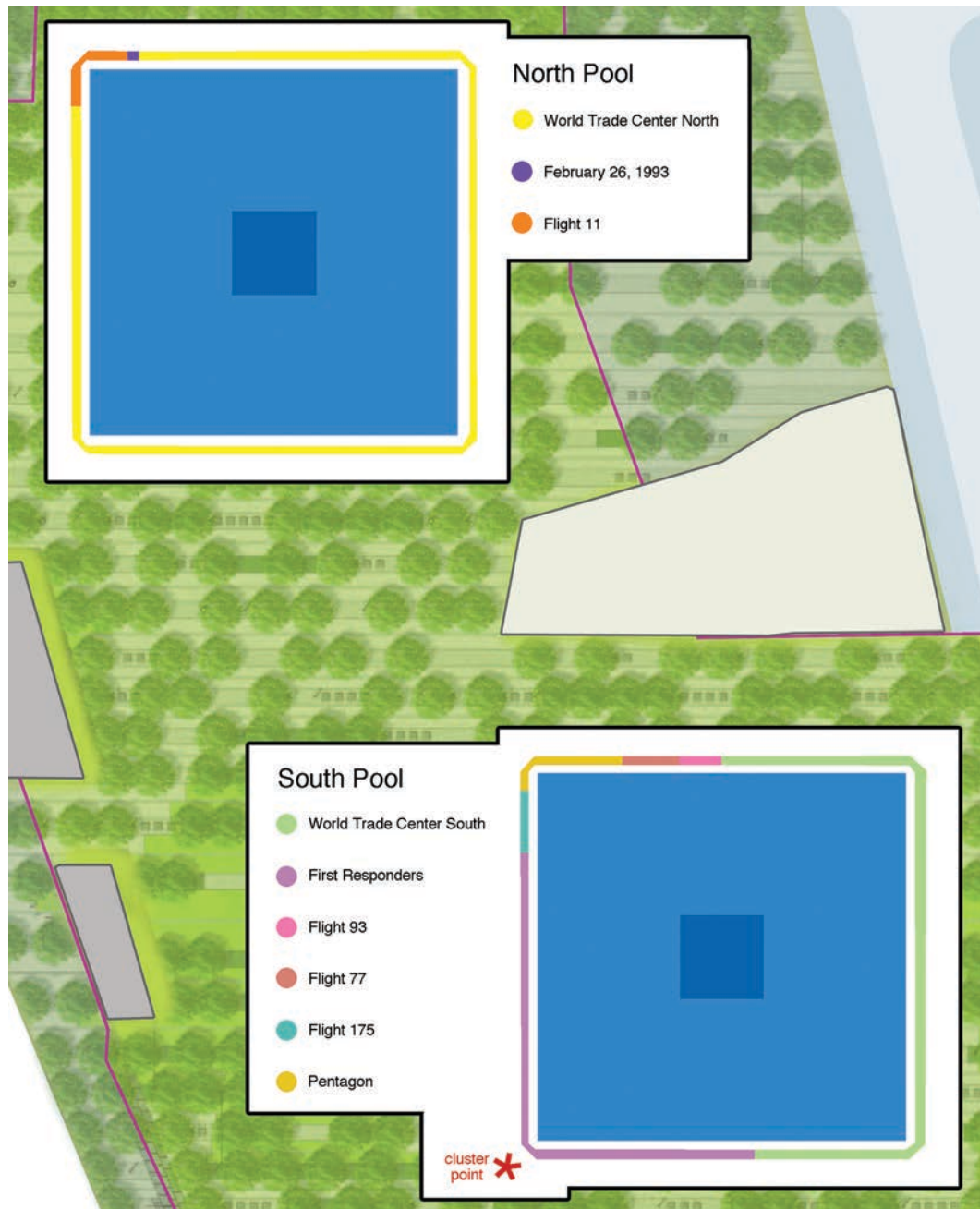


Figure 37. The North Pool and the Oculus

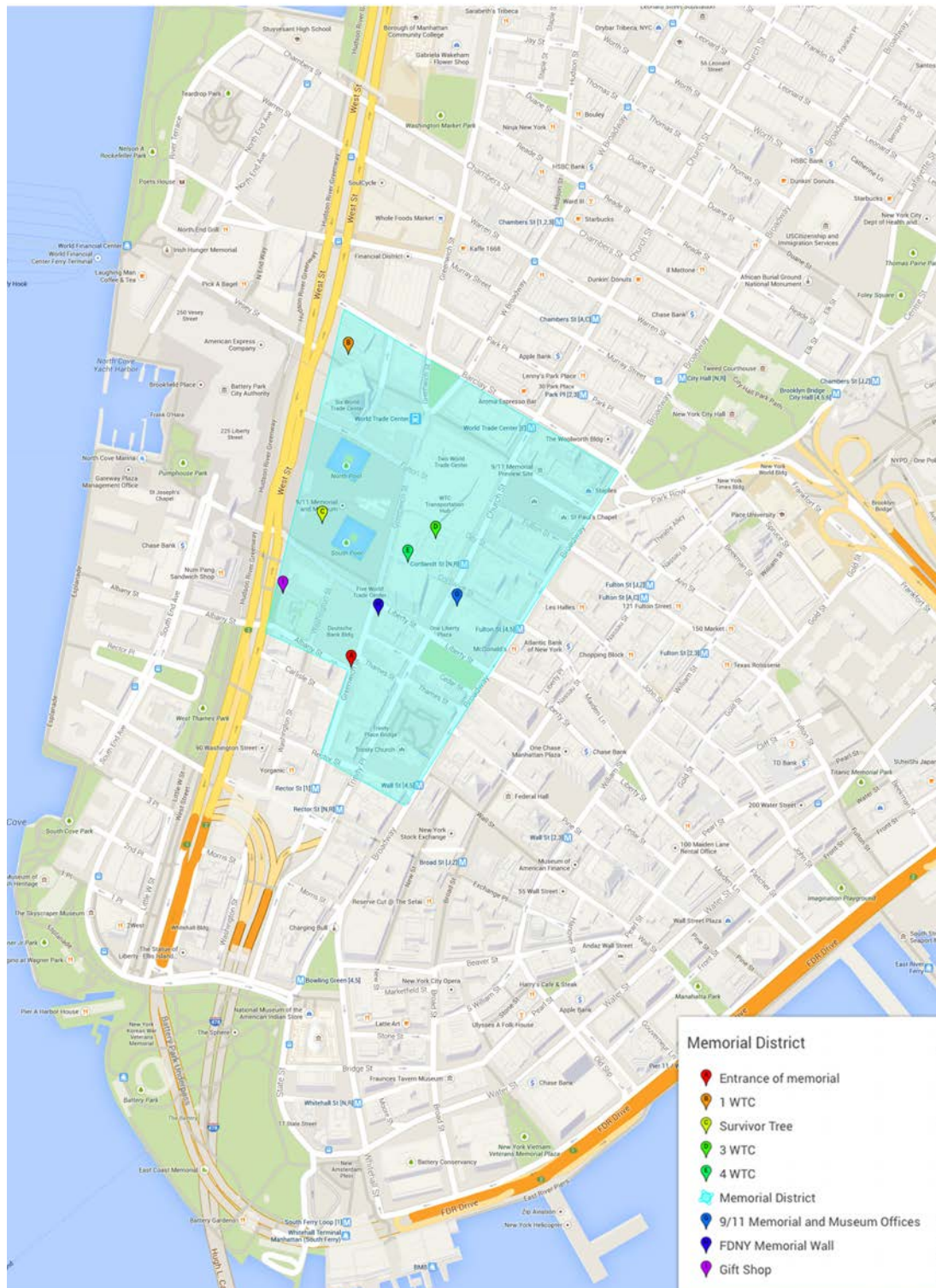


Figure 38. 1 WTC and the open memorial plaza

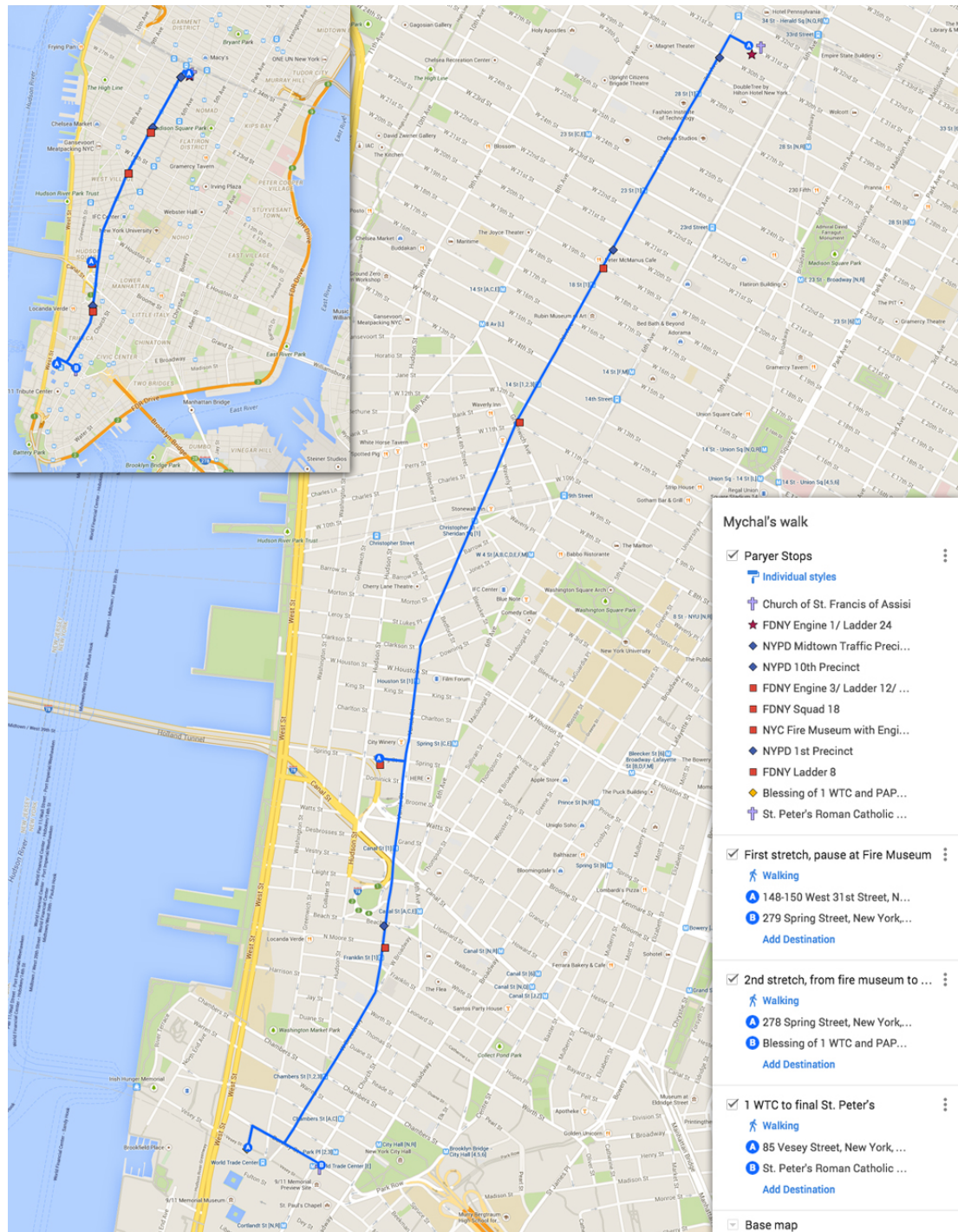
Appendix 1. Map of names arranged around the 9/11 memorial



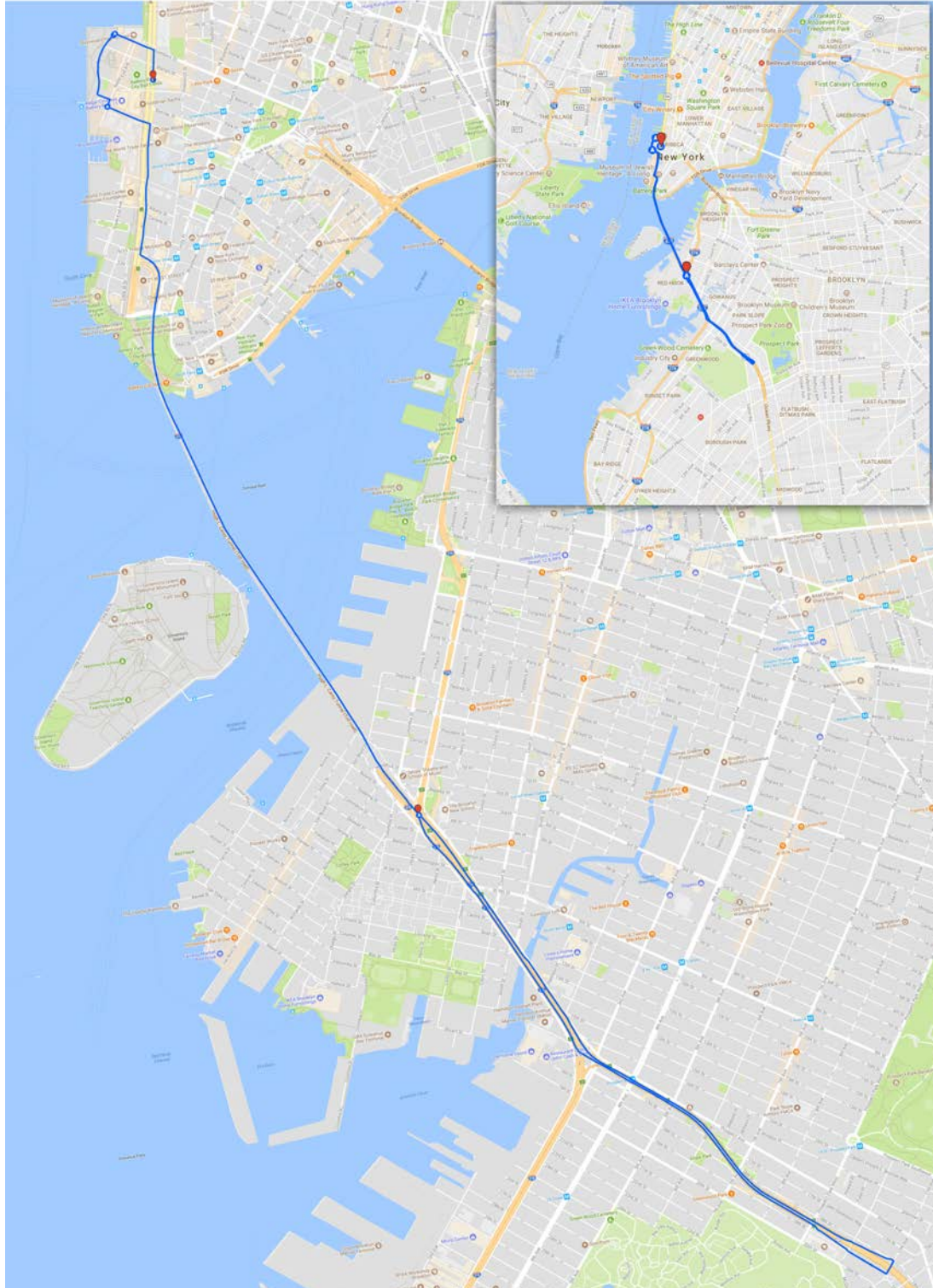
Appendix 2. Map of memorial district



Appendix 3. Route-map, Father Mychal Judge 9/11 Walk of Remembrance



Appendix 4. Route-map, Tunnel to Towers 5K Run & Walk



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